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CLASSICAL EDITOR: B. J. HAYES, M.A.

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**SALLUST: CATILINE.**

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SALLUST:  
CATILINE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Life of Sallust.*—Gaius Sallustius Crispus, of plebeian family, was born at Amiternum in the Sabine country in 86 B.C. Of other members of his family and of his own early career we know nothing, save that several writers represent him as a man of bad character. In 59 B.C. he became quaestor, and in 52 B.C. tribune of the plebs. Personal enmity is said to have been the cause of his taking an active part against Milo, who was in that year upon his trial for the murder of the demagogue Clodius, for bribery, and other offences. Certain it is that Sallust was attached to Cæsar and the popular party; and when in 50 B.C. he was expelled from the Senate on the ground of his scandalous life, it is probable that the Senatorial party, just then in the ascendant, was acting largely on political grounds. He then joined Cæsar in Gaul, and in 47 B.C., after Cæsar's great victory over Pompeius at Pharsalia, he was elected to the praetorship, and thus also restored to the Senate. After nearly losing his life at the hands of mutinous soldiers in Campania, he followed Cæsar into Africa to continue the war against the Pompeians. He was there left as governor of Numidia. At the end of 45 he returned to Rome, having in one year by the rapacity and oppression that so generally characterised the provincial governors of the Roman republic amassed a large fortune. He was accused of extortion in his province, but the charge was evidently not pressed. He built a fine house and laid out some splendid gardens on the Quirinal hill, and here, in retirement from politics,



devoted the rest of his life to literary labours. He died in 84 B.C.

§ 2. **Sallust's Works.**—The surviving works of Sallust are the history of Catiline's conspiracy, commonly called the *Catiline*, and the history of the Jugurthine War, commonly called the *Jugurtha*. In addition to these he wrote five books of Roman history, beginning with the year 78 B.C., entitled *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, of which a large number of quotations collected from other writers have come down to us. The *Catiline* is by far his most celebrated work.

§ 3. **Sketch of Roman History.**—From the first days of the Republic, when Rome was a small city with but a few square miles of territory, it was recognised as the main feature of the constitution that the government of the state should be jointly in the hands of people, magistrates, and Senate. The magistrates were on their election entrusted by the people with the task of carrying on the administration from year to year, and usually there was no interference with their jurisdiction; still the people was the ultimate source of power, and could make its will felt by passing laws when assembled in its comitia. The Senate's duty consisted in discussing such matters as were laid before it by the chief magistrates, and in giving advice about the course which seemed best under the circumstances, but it could not compel the magistrates to adopt any mode of action that was distasteful to them: it could only demand that its advice should not be dismissed without due consideration. When the territory of Rome expanded beyond its early narrow limits, and began to extend over Italy, the old theory of the constitution was lost sight of, and the Senate, which consisted for the most part of ex-magistrates, and so included many men of great experience in administration, assumed more and more power; for the people, besides being incompetent to decide on the spur of the moment difficult questions of home and foreign policy, could not often make the long journey to the capital, and the magistrates grew continually more averse to act in

opposition to the experienced council of which they would one day themselves be members. Thus the Senate became supreme, and for many years it justified its usurped authority by the combined prudence and vigour of its action. By its energy and patriotism it carried the nation triumphantly through the dangerous struggle with Pyrrhus (280—275 B.C.), and the still more dangerous and exhausting conflict with Hannibal (218—202 B.C.), and the credit which these successes brought gave additional strength to its rule. In the fifty years which followed upon the second Punic war and which are known as the "first period of foreign conquest," many brilliant victories were won, and the dominions of Rome spread far and wide outside Italy. Philip and Perseus of Macedonia were defeated respectively at Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.) and Pydna (168 B.C.) in the second and third Macedonian wars, and the empire that was once ruled by Alexander the Great sank into a province of Rome. Antiochus of Syria lost the battle of Magnesia to Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal, and was deprived of one-half of his empire, 190 B.C. Greece was reduced to subjection after its great town Corinth had been taken and sacked, 146 B.C.; and in the same year Carthage, a still more powerful centre of commerce, was razed to the ground after a desperate resistance. During all these years scarce a whisper was heard against the Senate; and yet its period of greatness was over, and there only remained to it perpetual conflict with people, magistrates, and army. For the great conquests proved its ruin: in the first place, as the empire expanded, the Senate could no longer exercise efficient control over the generals and armies which it sent out to distant provinces; secondly, the senators themselves were not simple honest citizens, as they had been in earlier times, but were ready to enrich themselves by every unjust means at the expense of those whom they governed; and thirdly, in consequence of the great wealth that flowed to Rome from the conquered peoples, the farmers and labourers left the country districts and flocked to the capital to sell their votes and break out into riot if their demands were not gratified. In 133 B.C., when Tiberius Gracchus made the first attack upon the

Government, there were some two thousand families, senatorial and equestrian, who grew rich by the plunder of the provincials, while the rest of the citizens were in a poverty from which there seemed no release. Tiberius fell, but the fight was continued by his brother Gaius (121 B.C.), Saturninus (100 B.C.), and other reformers as gallant and as ill-fated. The Senate resisted with the usual tenacity of an oligarchy: sometimes it lost ground, but never for long, and when the struggle had gone on for half a century, Sulla, its great champion, returned at the head of his victorious troops from a war against Mithridates of Pontus (87—84 B.C.) The constitution which he framed was a subversion of that early theory which has been mentioned above, for he placed the Senate in the real possession of the government by diminishing the powers of the magistrates—especially of the tribunes who had taken the chief part in the attack on the Senate—and he only allowed the people to pass laws in the *comitia* subject to restrictions. Such enactments were resented by the democrats—the party of the Gracchi and Saturninus: but in addition to this source of hostility, the confiscations and proscriptions of Sulla himself were the cause of lasting discontent. Throughout Italy, but especially in Etruria, he had ejected whole communities to make way for his veterans, though these old soldiers had little taste for the monotony of agricultural life, and longed for fresh campaigns. During the troubles of the Sullan dictatorship many nobles had lost and made fortunes, and they were willing to take part in any fresh rising that offered to relieve them from their debts and give them new wealth. Yet in spite of the discontent among democrats and the dispossessed, the Sullan constitution might have stood if the Senate could only have kept its generals and armies under control. As it was, militarism became rampant, and when in 70 B.C. Pompeius and Crassus, both returning from successful campaigns at the head of their troops, made an alliance with the democrats, and declared against the legislation of Sulla, the Senate had perforce to yield and to assent to its repeal. From this date Roman history becomes in an increasing degree the history of its generals: in 67 B.C. Pompeius by

a vote of the people received the chief command against the pirates with almost monarchical powers; and this authority was continued to him in 66 B.C. for the purpose of crushing Mithridates, who was for a third time at war with Rome. The career of Pompeius in Asia was one of scarcely broken success, and almost every day brought news of fresh triumphs on his part. He defeated Mithridates, and compelled him to flee from his kingdom to the Tauric Chersonese (*Crimea*), received the abject submission of the hitherto victorious Tigranes of Armenia, and then, turning south, compelled Bedonins, Arabs, and Jews to submission, and extended the bounds of the empire as far as the Euphrates. These successes were not altogether gratifying to the Senate, for experience had shown how difficult it was to deal with a victorious general, but they were even more distasteful to the democrats, for they had no guarantee that they might not result in a tyranny as hateful as Sulla's. Crassus, the richest man in Rome, and the recognised chief of the bankers and money lenders, had previously quarrelled with Pompeius and dreaded his return, and the feeling was naturally shared by Caesar and the other leaders of the democrats, among whom we must class Catiline.

§ 4. *The Story of Catiline.*—Lucius Sergius Catilina, of an ancient but decayed patrician family, was born about 108 B.C. His early life was stained by many foul crimes. As one of Sulla's followers he tortured to death a citizen whose property he coveted, and whose name he contrived to get put on the proscription lists; he is said, when about to marry again, to have murdered his own son (ch. xv., § 2); and he is roundly accused of other infamous deeds. He was, however, elected praetor in 68 B.C. In the following year he was governor in Africa as propraetor, and in 66 B.C. he returned to Rome to present himself for the consulship. Being accused, however, of extortion (*repetundae*) by the provincials, he was not allowed by the presiding magistrate to stand (ch. xviii., § 3). P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla were elected, but being immediately convicted of bribery in the election, they lost, as the penalty, both their magistracy and their seat in the Senate,

and L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, the candidates they had defeated, took their places (end of 66 B.C.). Catiline now set on foot the earlier of his conspiracies (ch. xviii. and xix.), and designed, along with the deposed consul Autronius and a needy and factious noble named Piso, to murder the new consuls and seize the consulship. Sallust hints (ch. xix., § 1) that Crassus was not ignorant of the plot, but thought that it might be turned to useful political account for himself. It is also probable, though Sallust does not say so, that Caesar was involved. The first plot, after being postponed to February 65, failed through Catiline giving the signal too soon (ch. xviii., § 8). In the autumn of this year he was brought to trial for extortion in Africa, and acquitted. In June of the next year (64) he began to organise a second conspiracy on a much larger scale; nothing short of a revolution, accompanied by wholesale murder and proscription, would satisfy. Again, however, he stood for the consulship; C. Antonius Hybrida, one of the conspirators, was to be his colleague (ch. xxi., § 3). Catiline was defeated, and Cicero, a *novus homo* was elected along with Antonius, whom he soon bribed with the province of Macedonia to desert the conspiracy (ch. xxvi., § 4). Shortly afterwards Catiline was prosecuted *de vi* for his part in the Sullan proscriptions, and was acquitted. In the summer of 63, the year of Cicero's consulship, he determined again to stand for the consulship, and to get Cicero murdered at the polling-place itself. His candidature was again unsuccessful, and his design on Cicero also failed (ch. xxvi., § 5). He then sent Manlius into Etruria, in order to raise the standard of revolt and make Faesulæ his basis of operations; Lentulus and Cethegus were the most prominent men employed at Rome to organise the murder of the leading men and the firing of the city upon the signal being given. An attempt was made to murder Cicero in his own house; but through information given by Fulvia, the mistress of one of the conspirators, it was foiled (ch. xxviii., §§ 1—3). Cicero, being informed of the progress of the plot, convened the Senate, and the Senate gave the consuls dictatorial power to see that the state

took no harm. A few days afterwards (October 27th), information arriving that Manlius had actually risen in Etruria, generals were by a decree of the Senate despatched to the various parts of the country affected by the conspiracy with instructions to raise forces, and rewards were offered for further information concerning the plot. Catiline meanwhile was still in the city. On November 8th, however, being openly denounced by Cicero in the Senate, he left the house in a rage, and set off to join Manlius in Etruria, leaving Lentulus and the others to mature the plot so far as it concerned the city (ch. xxxii.). The Senate then declared Catiline and Manlius to be public enemies, and imposed upon Antonius the task of meeting Catiline in the field, and upon Cicero the duty of protecting the city. About this time the conspirators admitted into their secret the ambassadors of the Allobroges (ch. xl.), whom they found to be discontented, and from whom they calculated to receive considerable help. The Allobroges betrayed the plot to Cicero, and the leading conspirators at Rome were arrested (ch. xlv.), palpable proofs of their guilt being forthcoming (December 3rd). They were then examined in the Senate, and by a decree of the Senate handed over to the leading citizens for custody. Two days afterwards (December 5th) Cicero, hearing of a plot to rescue the prisoners, again convened the Senate; a great debate ensued concerning the punishment to be pronounced upon the offenders. It was decided to inflict summary punishment; and they were accordingly on the same day executed in prison. Catiline, on hearing of their fate, tried to get away with his army into Transalpine Gaul; but, finding himself hemmed in between Metellus Celer on the north and C. Antonius on the south, he turned on Antonius, and in the battle of Pistoria (January 62) was defeated and slain.

Sallust's version of the conspiracy, from which the above account is drawn, contains many discrepancies and inaccuracies; but the most important fact is that, while he is careful, in chs. x.—xiii., to show how by a gradual evolution such a character as Catiline's became possible in the Roman state, he traces no development in Catiline himself.

According to Sallust Catiline was a full-fledged anarchist and conspirator from the very first. His designs are scarcely less extreme when he is standing for the consulship in June 64, than when the scheme is precipitated in the October of the following year. To what purpose this waste of time? The answer is that Sallust has misconceived or misrepresented the position of Catiline. Catiline, it is almost certain, worked for some time in general harmony with the democratic party and its leader, Caesar; and though his relations to the extreme section—the impoverished men who wanted a revolution and a general wiping out of debt (*tabulae novae*)—may have been closer than those of any other prominent politician, there is no evidence that he aimed at anarchy until the close of his career. The plot of 66 B.C. was concocted by the democratic leaders, Caesar and Crassus, with a view to seizing the government at Rome, and so acquiring a power which should be a counterpoise to the growing strength of Pompeius in the East. Any criminality that attaches to the attempt must be shared by Caesar equally with Catiline. Again, in the elections of 64 B.C., Catiline was, in conjunction with Antonius, the accredited candidate of the democrats, and until the Senate decided to support Cicero, the favourite of the country voters and the middle class, he had every chance of success. So far there was no reason why Catiline should resort to the perilous expedient of civil war, but when the elections of 63 B.C. came on the position was changed. Not only was senatorial influence so great with the comitia that Catiline saw he had no chance of winning the consulship, but Pompeius had now settled the affairs of Asia and was about to return to Italy with his forces. Catiline was compelled to act now or never: he broke with Caesar and the democratic party, and in common with all the disinherited of society, determined to overthrow the state amidst blood and pillage, and to inaugurate an entirely new order. The attempt failed. The democrats took no part in the conspiracy, though they must have sympathised with some, at least, of Catiline's objects. They certainly suffered through his defeat, for the Senate, in consequence of the overthrow of the plot, was placed in a stronger

position than it had held for some time. Cicero, the prime organiser of the victory, was saluted as the "Father of his Country" (*Pater Patriæ*), and reached the most glorious point of his career. But retribution awaited him too: he had put Roman citizens to death without trial—a violation of the first principles of the constitution—and when in course of time the democrats regained strength, they drove the great orator into exile for a while (58 B.C.).

§ 5. *Sallust's Style.* — Sallust's literary style, like his matter, is vivid and interesting. He uses some archaisms, as an imitator of old Cato should, but he also uses colloquialisms of the day; in truth both are a revolt against the stereotyped and conventional. There is one noticeable construction which is used more frequently by Sallust than by any other writer—and that is the historic infinitive—a construction which had not been employed to any great extent by earlier writers. Sallust relishes antithesis, but by ingenious variety in parallel clauses he avoids monotony. He is as a rule very concise; his terseness sometimes becomes positively abrupt. In this respect he strongly resembles Thucydides, and in this respect also his influence is seen most markedly in his imitator, the yet more rhetorical and more compressed Tacitus.



## ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR PRAENOMINA.

A free-born Roman had three names: *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*: the *praenomen* was the personal name, the *nomen* that of the *gens* ("clan"), the *cognomen* that of the *familia* ("family"); e.g., *Gaius Julius Caesar* is the individual *Gaius*, belonging to the *familia Caesarum* of the *gens Julia*.

The following abbreviations are used in the text of the *Catiline*:—

A. Aulus.	M'. Manius.
C. Gaius.	P. Publius.
Cn. Gnaeus.	Q. Quintus.
D. Decimus.	Ser. Servius.
L. Lucius.	T. Titus.
M. Marcus.	Ti. Tiberius.

## SPELLING.

The following are points in which the spelling in the text of the *Catiline* differs from that to which the student has probably been accustomed:—

-i, not -ii, in the genitive singular of nouns; e.g., *Sallusti*=*Sallustii*.

-is(is), not -es, in the accusative plural of words of the third declension which have genitive plural ending in -ium; e.g., *omnia*=*omnes*.

-um(-um-), not -im-, in superlatives and some other words; e.g., *maximus*=*maximus*, *cristum*=*cristimo*.

-und-, not -end-, in gerunds and gerundives; e.g., *colundo*=*colendo*.

-o-, not -es-; e.g., *exupero*=*exupero*, *exequor*=*exsequor*.

vo-, not vu-; e.g., *vulgus*=*vulgus*, *novos* (*novus*)=*novus*.

vor-, not ver-, in *verto* and words from the same root; e.g., *diversi*=*diversi*. So too *voster*=*vester*.

lub-, not lib-, in *libet* and words formed from the same root; e.g., *lubido*=*libido*.

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI  
BELLUM CATILINAE.

1. Omnis homines, qui sese student praestare coteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri obocdientia finxit. 2. sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum diis, alterum cum beluis commune est. 3. quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere et, quoniam vita ipsa quae fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere. 4. nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.

5. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. 6. nam et prius quam incipias consulto et ubi consulneris mature facto opus est. 7. ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget. 2. igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit) divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; quae cuique satis placebant. 3. postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis conpertum est in bello plurimum ingenium

posse. 3. quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. 4. nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. 5. verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasore, fortuna simul cum moribus inmutatur. 6. ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur. 7. quae homines arant navigant aedificant, virtuti omnia parent.

8. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit; eorum ego vitam mortemque iuxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. 9. verum enim vero is dum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit.

Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit. 3. pulchrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecero et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. 2. ac mihi quidam, tametsi haud quaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt; dehinc quia plerique quae delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia dicta putant, ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.

3. Sed ego adulescentulus initio sicuti plerique studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa adversa fuere. nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute audacia largitio avaritia vigeant. 4. quae tametsi animus ~~asper-~~ nabatur insolens malorum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia

inbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; 5. ac me, cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat. 4. igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero agrum colundo aut venando, servilibus officiis, intentum aetatem agere; 2. sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere, eo magis quod mihi a spe metu partibus rei publicae animus liber erat.

3. Igitur de Catilinae coniuratione quam verissime potero paucis absolvam; 4. nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. 5. de cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

5. L. Catillna, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis sed ingenio malo pravoque. 2. huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique iuventutem suam exercuit. 3. corpus patiens inediae algoris vigiliae supra quam cuiquam credibile est. 4. animus audax subdolus varius, cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni adpetens sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. 5. vastus animus inmoderata incredibilia nimis alta semper cupiebat. 6. hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. 7. agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus forox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque eis artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. 8. incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma et diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant.

eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. 2. iurgia discordias simultates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. in supplicis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. 3. duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. 4. quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; 5. in pace vero quod beneficiis quam metu imperium agitant et accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10. Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperi Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. 2. qui labores pericula, dubia, atque asperas res facile toleraverant, eis otium divitiae, optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque fuere. 3. igitur primo imperi, pecuniae deinde cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. 4. namque avaritia fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. 5. ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestimare, magisque vultum quam ingenium bonum habere. 6. haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari; post ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex iustissimo atque optimo crudele intolerandumque factum.

11. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. 2. nam gloriam honorem imperium bonus et ignaves aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia

bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. 3. avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis inbuta corpus animumque vilem effeminat, semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. 4. sed postquam L. Sulla armis recepta re publica bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modum victores habere, forda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. 5. huc addebat quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. loca amoena voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliaverant. 6. ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare potare, signa tabulas pictas vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. 7. igitur ei milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. 8. quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant: ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit. 2. igitur ex divitiis iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasero: rapere consumere, sua parvi pendere aliena cupere, pudorem pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. 3. operae pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exadificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri maiores, religionissimum mortales, fecere. 4. verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos sua gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam praeter iniuriam licentiam eripiebant. 5. at hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores reliquerant: proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum esset impio uti.

13. nam quid ea memorem, quæ nisi eis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse? 2. quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ: quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. 3. sed libido ganeæ ceterique cultus non minor incesserat: vescendi causa terræ marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius quam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. 4. hæc iuventutem, uli familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant: 5. animus inbutus malis artibus haud facile libidinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quæstui atque sumptui deditus erat.

14. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. 2. nam quicumque bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, (3) præterea omnes undique patricidæ sacrilegi convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua porniurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium cgestas conscius animus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. 4. quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius inciderat, Catilinae usu atque inebriis facile parvisque ceteris effluviabatur. 5. sed maxime adolescentium turbanditates adquebat: eorum animi molles etiam et fluxi coris laud difficulter capiebantur. 6. nam ut cuiusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere, aliis canes atque equos mercari: postremo neque sumptui neque modestiæ suæ parci, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret.

15. Iam primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ,

alia huiusce modi contra ius fasque. 2. postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cuius praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat timens privignum adulta aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis facisse. 3. quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinus maturandi. 4. namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infertus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. 5. igitur color ei exanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo modo tardus incessus: prorsus in facie voltuque vicia inerat.

16. Sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, inllexerat, multis modis mala facinora docebat. 2. ex illis testis signatorisque falsos commodare; fidem fortunas pericula vilia habere, post ubi eorum famam atque pudorem adtriverat, maiora alia imperabat. 3. si causa peccandi in praesens minus subpetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire iugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat.

4. Eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilium, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, obprimendae rei publicae consilium cepit. 5. in Italia nullus exercitus. Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerbat, ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

17. Igitur circiter kalendas Iunias L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus primo singulos appellare, hortari alios alios temptare; opes suas, inparatam rem publicam, magna praemia coniurationis docere. 2. ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxime



necessitudo et plurimum audaciae inerat. 3. eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Ser. Sullae Ser. filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; 4. praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis domi nobiles. 5. erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. 6. ceterum inventus plerumque sed maxime nobilium Catilinae inceptis favebat: quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. 7. fuere item ea tempestate qui cederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum eius consili fuisse: quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ducitabat, cuiusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si coniuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit. 2. de qua quam verissimo potero dicam. L. Tullo et M. Lepido consulibus P. Autronius et P. Sulla designati consules legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant. 3. post paulo Catilina pecuniarum reptundarum reus prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverat. 4. erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. 5. cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter nonas Decembris consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio kalendis Ianuariis L. Coctam et L. Torquatam consules interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad optinendas duas Hispanias mittere. 6. ea re cognita rursus in nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. 7. iam tum non consulibus

modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. 8. quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. quia nondum frequentes armati convenorant, ea res consilium diremit. 19. postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore missus est adnitente Crasso, quod cum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. 2. neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat, quippe foedum hominem a re publica procul esse volebat, simul quia boni complures praesidium in eo putabant et iam tum potentia Pompei formidulosa erat. 3. sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. 4. sunt qui ita dicant, imperia eius iniusta superba crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; 5. alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompei veteres fidosque clientis, voluntate eius Pisonem aggressos: nunquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpeccos. nos eam rem in medio relinquimus. 6. de superiore coniuratione satis dictum.

20. Catilina ubi eos, quos paulo ante memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens univisos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secedit atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem huiusce modi habuit:

2. "Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent, neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro curia captarem. 3. sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intellexi; 4. nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea dumtaxat firma amicitia est,

5. Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes iam antea divorsi audistis. 6. ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. 7. nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia sine auctoritate, eis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. 8. itaque omnis gratia potentia, honos divitiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula repulsas, iudicia egestatem. 9. quae quo usque tandem patiemini, o fortissimi viri? nunc emori per virtutem praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? 10. verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. tantum modo incepto opus est, cetera res exp. dict. 11. etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus conequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis haec familiarem nusquam ullum esse? 12. cum tabulae signa toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt vexant, tamen summa lubricine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. 13. at nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior: denique quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam?

14. Quin igitur expergiscimini? en illa, illa quam saepe optastis libertas, praeterea divitiae decus gloria in oculis sita sunt; fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. 15. res tempus, pericula egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis quam oratio mea vos hortantur. 16. vel imperatore vel milite

me utimini: neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. 17. haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estia."

21. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quiescere movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, ut proponeret, quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. 2. tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus sacerdotia, rapinas alia omnia, quae bellum atque libido victorum fert; 3. praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi conlegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi facturum. 4. ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnes bonos, suorum unum quemque nominans laudare: admonerat alium egestatis alium cupiditatis suae, compluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. 5. postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit. 22. fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam oratione habita, cum ad ius iurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse: 2. inde cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum; atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. 3. non nulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existimabant ab eis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. ~~nobis ea~~ res pro magnitudine parum conperta est. x

23. Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. 2. huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia: neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. 3. erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo. cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. 4. at Fulvia insolentiae Curi causa cognita tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore do Catilinae coniuratione quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit.

5. Ea res in primis studia hominum aeccondit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. 6. namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novos adeptus foret. sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere. 24. igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius. quod factum primo popularis coniurationis concusserat. 2. neque tamen Catilinae furor minuetatur, sed in dies plura agitare: arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutnam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. 3. ea tempestate plurimos cuiusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quae aes alienum grande conflaverant. 4. per eas se Catilina credebatur posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere.

25. Sed in eis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. 2. haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit;

litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere et saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. 3. sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. 4. pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abiuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat: luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. 5. verum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

26. His rebus comparatis Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. 2. neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. 3. namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam officerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi prodideret; 4. ad hoc conlegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. 5. postquam dies comitiorum venit et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidiae, quas consulibus in campo fecerat, prospere cedere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulto temptaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant.

27. Igitur C. Manlius Faculus atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. 2. interea Romae multa simul moliri: consulibus insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere. ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere, hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent, dies noctisque festinare vigilare,

neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. 3. postremo, ubi multa agitantī nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte coniurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Laecam, (4) ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; cum suis consiliis multum officere. 28. igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introiro ad Ciceronem ac de improvviso domi suae inparatum confodere. 2. Curius ubi intellegit, quantum periculum consuli impendat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat. 3. ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant.

4. Interca Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitaro, egestate simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea latrones cuiusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; non nullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.

29. Ea cum Ciceroni nuntiantur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat neque, exercitus Manli quantus aut quo consilio foret, satis conpertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, iam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam. 2. itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detinenti caperet. 3. ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere; aliter sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est.

30. Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem VI kalendas Novembris. 2. simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atquo prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. 3. igitur senati decreto Q. Marcins Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi (4)—ei utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, inpediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat—(5) sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum, cisque pormissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. 6. ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero inpunitatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta, (7) itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cuiusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur eisque minores magistratus praecessent.

31. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque inmutata urbis facies erat. ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: 2. festinare trepidare, nequo loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu periculi moti. 3. ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus inceserat, adflectare sese, manus supplices ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare omnia omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere.

4. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praecidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. 5. postremo dissimulandi causa



aut sui expurgandi, sicut iurgio laceratus foret, in senatum venit. 6. tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. 7. sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu voce supplici postulare a patribus coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet. ne existimarent sibi, patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque maiorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. 8. ad hoc male dicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. 9. tum ille furibundus "quoniam quidem circumventus" inquit "ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restringam." 32. deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac prius quam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere, quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. 2. sed Cethego atque Lentulo coterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus robus possint, opes factionis congiunt, insidias consuli maturent, eadem incendia atque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.

3. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis huiusce modi:

33. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent, qui miseri egentes violentia atque crudelitate faeneratorum

plerique patriae sedis, omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus. neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more maiorum lege uti neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere: tanta saevitia facneratorum atque praetoris fuit. 2. saepe maiores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae eius opitulati sunt, ac novissime memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni volentibus omnibus bonis argentum aere solutum est. 3. saepe ipsa plebs, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. 4. at nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. 5. te atque veratum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis, neve nobis eam necessitudinem inponatis, ut quaeramus, quonam modo maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus.”

34. Ad haec Q. Marcius respondit, si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.

2. At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optimo cuique litteras mittit: se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Masiliam in exilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieti foret neve ex sua contentione seditio oreretur. 3. ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditae dicebat. earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

35. “L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides, re cognita, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. 2. quam ob rem defensionem in novo consilio

non statui parare! satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam me diu fidius veram licet cognoscas. 3. iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statum dignitatis non optinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi, non quia aes aliorum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere non possem (et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret), sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam meque falsa suspitione alienatum esse sentiebam. 4. hoc nomine satis honestas pro nunc casu spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. 5. plura cum scribere vellam, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. 6. nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado; eam ab iniuria defendas per liberos tuos rogatus. habeto."

36. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arvetino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. 2 haec ubi Romae conperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostis indicat, ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis. 3. praeterea decrevit, uti consules dilectum habuant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maret, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.

4. Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum est. cui cum ad occusum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluere, fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. 5. namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus coniurationem patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi atque uti tabes plerumque civium

animos invaserat. 37. neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii coniurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinæ incepta probabat. 2. id adeo more suo videbatur facere. 3. nam semper in civitate quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. 4. sed urbana plebes ea vero praecepta erat de multis causis. 5. primum omnium qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant, item alii per dedecora patrimonii amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ei Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. 6. deinde multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, ut regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. 7. praeterea iuventus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. 8. quo minus mirandum est homines egentis malis moribus maxuma spe rei publicae iuxta ac sibi consuluisse. 9. praeterea quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona crepta, ius libertatis inminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expectabant. 10. ad hoc quicumque aliarum atque senatus partium erant, conturbari rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. 11. id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revoletat. 38. nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere, ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. 2. contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas

senatus specie pro sua magnitudine. 3. namque, uti paucis  
verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque rem publicam  
agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi iura defenderent,  
pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum  
publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia certabant.  
4. neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat:  
utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant. 39. sed postquam  
Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum  
missus est, plebis opes inminutae, paucorum potentia crevit.  
2. ei magistratus provincias aliaque omnia tenere, ipsi  
innoxii florentes sine metu aetatem agere ceterosque iudiciis  
terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent.  
3. sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est,  
vetus certamen animos eorum adrexit. 4. quod si primo  
proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset, pro-  
fecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam obpres-  
sisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea  
uti licuisset, quin defessis et exanguibus qui plus posset,  
imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. 5. fuere tamen  
extra coniurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio  
profecti sunt. in eis erat Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem  
retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit.

6. Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina  
praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus  
idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque  
solum civis, sed cuiusque modi genus hominum, quod modo  
bello usui foret. 40. igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium  
dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirant eosque, si possit,  
inpellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque  
aere alieno obpressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica  
bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse.  
2. Umbrenus quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque  
principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. itaque  
sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percon-

tatus pauca de statu civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum requirere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. 3. postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum, quod in eo anxili nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare, "at ego" inquit "vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." 4. haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui miseretur: nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. 5. ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consili propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. 6. praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo maior auctoritas sermoni inesset. eo praesente coniurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cuiusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset. deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit. 41. sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consili caperent. 2. in altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae, at in altera maiores opes, tanta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. 3. haec illis volentibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. 4. itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant, aperiunt. 5. Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecepit, ut studium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

42. Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno Bruttio Apulia motus erat. 2. namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementia cuncta simul agebant. nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. 3. ex

eo numero conpluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senatus consulto causa cognita in vincula coniecerat, item in citeriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

43. At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes coniurationis erant, paratis ut videbatur magnis copiis constituerant, uti, cum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissimi invidiam optimum consuli inponeret: eo signo proxima nocte cetera multitudo coniurationis suum quisque negotium exequeretur. 2. sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur, Statilius et Gabinus uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incendorent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insidiao parabantur, fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi aggrediretur, alius autem alium, sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent; simul caede et incendio percussis omnibus ad Catilinam crumperent. 3. inter haec parata atque deerota Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolato magnas opportunitates conrumpere, facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse, seque, si pauci adiuverent, languentibus aliis impetum in curiam facturum. 4. natura ferox vehemens manu promptus erat, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

44. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt. ab Lentulo Cethego Statilio item Cassio postulavit ius iurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. 2. ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. 3. Lentulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta fide

societatem confirmarent. 4. ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

"Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. 5. fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse. consideres, quid tuae rationes postulent. auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis."

6. Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: cum ab senatu hostis indicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse quae iusserit. ne cunctetur ipse propius adcedere. 45. his rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua profiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant. rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. 2. illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis conlocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. 3. postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt, (4) Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

46. Quibus rebus confectis omnia prope per nuntios consuli declarantur. 2. at illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. nam laetabatur intellegens coniuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis quid facto opus esset: poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat. 3. igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum Cethegum Statilium Gabinium itemque Caeparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia profiscisci



parabat. 4. ceteri sine mora veniunt, Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. 5. consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet. 6. eo senatum advocat magnaue frequentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit, Flaccum praetorem scriinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre iubet. 47. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione; post ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos, tantum modo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium Ser. Sullam L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione esse. > 2. eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Cornelii potendi; Cinnae atque Sullae antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potius; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. 3. igitur perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. 4. itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificius, Statilius C. Ciceroni, Gabinus M. Crasso, Caeparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

48. Interea plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere: veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. 2. namque alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento

fore, incendium vero crudele immoderatum ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant. ✓

3. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. 4. is cum se diceret indicaturum de coniuratione, si fides publica data esset, iussus a consule quae sciret, edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius de paratis incendiis, de caede honorum, de itinere hostium senatum docet: praeterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex coniuratione deprehensi terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. 5. sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem maximis divitiis summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars, tametsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur. 6. itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit Tarquini indicium falsum videri eumque in vinculis retinendum neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cuius consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. 7. erant eo tempore qui existumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius appellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. 8. alii Tarquinium a Cicerone inmissum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo suscepto malorum patrocinio rem publicam conturbaret. 9. ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audiavi tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone inpositam.

49. Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem inpellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar

falso nominaretur. 2. nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant: Piso oppugnatus in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium iniustum, Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema aetate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adulescentulo *Caesare* victus discesserat. 3. res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maximis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. 4. sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singillatim circummeundo atquo omentiundo quae se ex *Volturcio* aut *Allobrogibus* audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant, usque eo ut non nulli equites *Romani*, qui praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aodem *Concordiae*, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate impuls, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu *Caesari* gladio mitterentur.

50. Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legis *Allobrogum* et *T. Volturcio*, comprobato eorum iudicio, praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus *Lentuli* diversis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. 2. *Cethegus* autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos, orabat in audaciam, ut grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent. 3. consul ubi ea parim cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus moneret, convocato senatu refert, quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. sed eos paulo anto frequens senatus indicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse. 4. tum *D. Iunius Silanus* primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis, qui in custodiam tenebantur, et praeterea de *L. Cassio* *P. Furio* *P. Umbreno* *Q. Annio*, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea permotus oratione *C. Caesaris* pedibus in

sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixit, quod de ea re praesidiis additis referendum censuerat, sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule huiusce modi verba locutus est :

51. "Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. 2. haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiant, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. 3. ubi intenderis ingenium, valet : si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. 4. magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, qui reges atque populi ira aut misericordia impulsī male consuluerint. sed ea malo dicere, quae maiores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. 5. bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit. sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, maiores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam iniuriae causa bellum ineptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. 6. item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in paco et per indutias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere : magis quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos iure fieri posset, quaerebant. 7. hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vestrae quam famae consulatis. 8. nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium adprobo : sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat, his utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt.

9. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, compositae atque magnifico casum rei publicae miserati sunt. quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumerare : rapi virgines, divelli liberos a parentum complexu,

matres familiarum pati quae victoribus conlubuissent, fana atque domos spoliari, caedem incendia fieri, postremo armis cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. 10. sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? an uti vos infestos coniurationi faceret? scilicet, quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. 11. non ita est, neque cuiquam mortalium iniuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere. 12. sed alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum parca sunt: qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. 13. ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est; neque studere neque odisse, minime irasci decet; 14. quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. 15. equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse. sed plerique mortales postruma meminere et in hominibus inpiis sceleris eorum obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paulo saevior fuit.

16. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio quae dixerit, studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut iniuicicias exercere; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. 17. verum sententia eius mihi non crudelis (quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?) sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. 18. nam profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novae decernere. 19. de timore supervacuum est disserere, cum praesertim diligentia clarissimi viri consulis tanta praesidia sint in armis. 20. de poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. 21. sed, per deos immortalis,

quam ob rem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? 22. an quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti iubent. 23. an quia gravius est verberari quam necari? quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? 24. sin quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in maiore neglexeris?

25. At enim quis reprehendet quod in parricidas rei publicae decretum erit? tempus dies fortuna, cuius lubido gentibus moderatur. 26. illis merito accidet quicquid evenit: ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate. 27. omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. sed ubi imperium ad ignaros eius aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. 28. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros inposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. 29. ei primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. 30. post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, iuxta bonos et malos lubricinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere: 31. ita civitas servitute oppressa stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. 32. nostra memoria victor Sulla cum Damasippum et alios eius modi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, iugulari iussit, quis non factum eius laudabat? homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, meritos necatos aiebant. 33. sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat, dabat operam, ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. 34. ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur, neque prius finis iugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. 35. atque ego haec non in M. Tullio

neque his temporibus vereor, sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. 36. potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc exemplo per senatus decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut quis moderabitur?

37. Maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere; neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. 38. arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt. postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exequabantur: imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. 39. sed eodem illo tempore Graeciae morem imitati verbis animadvertent in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. 40. postquam res publica adolevit et multitudine civium factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes, alia huiusce modi fieri coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum est. 41. hanc ego causam, patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. 42. profecto virtus atque sapientia maior illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix refinemus.

43. Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minime. sed ita censeo, publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quae maxime opibus valent: ne quis de eis postea ad senatum referat neve cum populo agat, qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum."

52. Postquam Caesar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii vario adstantabantur. ut M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam huiusce modi orationem habuit:

2. "Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias non nullorum ipse mecum reputo. 3. illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere; res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. 4. nam cetera malificia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia inploras: capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis. 5. sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos villas, signa tabulas vestras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis: si ista, cuiuscumque modi sunt quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere voltis, expergiscimini aliquando et capestrate rem publicam. 6. non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum iniuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.

7. Saepe numero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo. 8. qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam, delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini male facta condonabam. 9. sed et tametsi vos parvi penderetis, tamen res publica firma erat, opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. 10. nunc vero non id agitur, bonisve an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed haec, cuiuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. 11. hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat. iam pridem quidem nos vera vocabula rerum amimus. quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est. 12. sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerari: ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant,



13. Bene et composite C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea, quae de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra inculta, foeda atque formidulosa habere. 14. itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis aut a multitudine conducti per vim eripiantur. 15. quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantum modo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. 16. qua re vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit: si in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. 17. qua re, cum de P. Lentulo ceteri-que statuetis, pro certo habetote vos simul de exercitu Catillinae et de omnibus coniuratis decernere. 18. quanto vos attentius ea ageris, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paululum modo vos languore viderint, iam omnes feroces aderunt.

19. Nolite existumare maiores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. 20. si ita res esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus: quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum maior copia nobis quam illis est. 21. sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, foris iustum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubrici obnoxius. 22. pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam. laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam. inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. 23. neque mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam.

24. Sed ego haec omitto. coniuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere; Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini

Romano ad bellum arcessunt; dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: 25. vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis, quid intra moenia deprentis hostibus faciatis? 26. misereamini conseo (deliquere homines adulescentuli per ambitionem) atque etiam armatos dimittatis: 27. ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortat. 28. scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. immo vero maxime. sed inertia et molitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maximis periculis servavere. 29. non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando agundo bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt. ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos inplores: irati infestique sunt. 30. apud maiores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverit, necari iussit, (31) atque ille egregius adulescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. 32. verum parcite dignitati Lontuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit. 33. ignoscite Cathegi adulescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. 34. nam quid ego de Gabinio Statilio Caepario loquar? quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. 35. postremo, patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget; alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes; neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte: quo magis properandum est.

36. Qua re ego ita censeo, cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit,

eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium more maiorum supplicium sumundum."

53. Postquam Cato adsodit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam eius laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato clarus atque magnus habetur: sonati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat.

2. Sed mihi multa legenti multa audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset. 3. sciebam saepe numero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse, facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. 4. ac mihi multa agitante constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse, eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. 5. sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudinis suae imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat ac, sicuti effusa parente, multis tempestatibus haud sane quiquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. 6. sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar. quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possum, aperirem. 54. igitur ois genus aetas eloquentia prope aequalia fuere, magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. 2. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. 3. Caesar dando sub-

levando ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. in altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis, perniciēs. illius facilitas, huius constantia laudabatur. 4. postremo Caesar in animum induxerat laborare vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus sua negligere, nihil denegare, quod done dignum esset; sibi magnū imperium exercitum bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. 5. at Catoni studium modestiae decoris sed maxime severitatis erat; 6. non divitiis cum divite neque factione cum factionoso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat; esse quam videri bonus malebat: ita, quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illum adsequebatur.

55. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus noctem quae instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quae ad supplicium postulabat, parare iubet. 2. ipse praesidiis dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem sit ceteris per praetores. 3. est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus; 4. cum muniunt undique parietes atquo insuper camera lapideis fornicibus iuncta; sed incultu tenebris odore foeda atquo terribilis eius facies est. 5. in eum locum postquam dimissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. 6. ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. de Cethego Statilio Gabinio Caepario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

56. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum complet. 2. deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra veniret,

vero dementia est. 17. semper in proelio eis maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent: audacia pro muro habetur.

18. Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra nestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. 19. animus aetas virtus vestra me hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. 20. nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. 21. quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam viroorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

59. Haec ubi dixit, paululum commoratus signa canere iubet atque instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit. dein remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. 2. nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius conlocat. 3. ab eis centuriones, omnis lectos, et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlius in dextra, Facsulanum quandam in sinistra parte curare iubet. ipse cum libertis et calombus propter aquilam ad-sit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. 4. at ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. 5. ille cohortis veteranae, quas tumultus causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. ipse equo circumiens unum quemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint se contra latrones incrimis pro patria, pro libris, pro aris atque focis suis certare. 6. homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat,

plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

60. Sed ubi omnibus rebus exploratis Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere iubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. 2. postquam eo ventum est, unde ferentariis proelium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. 3. veterani pristinae virtutis memores comminus acriter instare, illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. 4. interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcescere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire: strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exequabatur. 5. Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentis interficit. 6. deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. 7. Catilina postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis in confertissimos hostis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

61. Sed confecto proelio tum vero cerneret, quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. 2. nam fere quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. 3. pauci autem, quos medios cohortis praetoria disiecerat, paulo divorsius, sed omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus conciderant. 4. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivos, in vultu retinens. 5. postremo ex omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est: 6. ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta pepercerant. 7. neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetum aut in-cruentam victoriam adeptus erat. nam strenuissimus

quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. 8. multi autem, qui e castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volentes hostilia cadavera amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant; fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. 9. ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia macror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

## NOTES.

N.B.—Important Proper Names of which no mention is made in the Notes will be found in the Index. † prefixed to a note indicates that the text is doubtful. The letters v.l. stand for *varia lectio* (variant reading).

CHAPS. 1—5. *By the mind, in which lies our superiority over the brasts, we are to win fame. Yet it was long a matter of dispute whether force of mind or of body was the more effective in war; to mind was eventually adjudged the superiority. Fame may be gained in many ways, amongst others by writing history. I therefore on retiring from public life decided to write the history of the Catilinarian Conspiracy. Before beginning my narrative I must say something as to the character of Catiline.*

[See Index of Proper Names for **Cyrus** and **Sulla**.]

Ch. 1. § 1. **omnis**: accusative plural. Substantives and adjectives of the third declension which have genitive plural in *-ium* may end in *-es* or *-is* in the accusative plural (masculine or feminine); *-is* is the earlier and more correct ending.

**esse student praestare**: verbs expressing desire, eagerness, etc., are usually followed by a simple prolativ infinitive (answering to a direct object), if the subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject of the verb of desire. Here the subject (*esse*) of the infinitive (*praestare*) is expressed, in order to emphasise the idea that it is for himself individually that a man desires this excellence.

**silentio**: ablative of manner. Manner may be expressed by an adverb, by *cum* with a noun in the ablative (e.g. *cum silentio*, "in silence"), or by the noun in the abl. accompanied by an adjective (e.g. *magno silentio*, "amidst great silence"). A few ablatives are thus used without adjectives (as *silentio* here), e.g. *dolo* ("by craft"), *natura* ("naturally"), *sponte* ("spontaneously"), *iure* ("rightfully"). Observe that in this passage *silentio* expresses not a state in which one says nothing, but a state in which nothing is said about one, i.e. "obscurety."

§ 2. **animi imperio utimur**: *lit.* "we employ the rule of the mind"; in English it would be more natural to say "we employ the mind to rule."



§ 3. *quo*: *lit.* "by which" or "in consequence of which," *i.e.* "wherefore."

*ingeni*: gen. sing. of *ingenium*. In prac-Augustan writers, as well as in the earlier times of Augustus, the termination *-ii* in the gen. sing. of nouns of the 2nd decl. with nom. in *-ius* or *-ium* was usually (as here) shortened into *-i*. Later on, the full form *-ii* was preferred.

*opibus*: an instrumental abl. with *quærere*.

*memoriam nostri*: *nostri* is the objective genitive, *i.e.* the genitive which expresses the object of the verbal notion implied in the noun on which it depends: *nostrum* is used where the gen. is partitive, (e.g. *utergue nostrum laborat*, "both of us are in distress"). The same rule applies to *vestrum* and *vestri*.

*quam maxime*: *quam* is very often thus used to intensify a superlative adjective or adverb, and has the force of the Eng. "as . . . as possible." The original expression contained some part of the verb *posse*, which is sometimes actually expressed (cp. ch. 4, § 3). Here *quam maxime* would be represented in full by *quam maxime longam eam efficere possumus* (*lit.* "to what extent we are able to make it most long").

*maxime*: in the prac-Augustan period the superlative termination generally ended in *-imus* rather than *-inus*.

§ 4. *virtus clara habetur*: *virtus* is the sum of manly qualities—"excellence." *Clara* is predicative: "is possessed—a glorious thing," *i.e.* "is a glorious possession."

§ 5. *mortalis*: accusative plural; see note on *omnis*, § 1.

*vine . . . procederet*: a double question dependent on *certamen*. *Vine* consists of *vi* (abl. of *vis*) and the interrogative particle *-ne*.

§ 6. *et . . . et*: *lit.* "both . . . and," conveniently rendered "on the one hand . . . on the other."

*incipias*: *prius quam* is found with the present subjunctive when the verb is in the second person singular used indefinitely—"before one begins."

*consulto . . . facto*: the neuter ablative sing. of the passive participle ("the thing consulted about . . . the thing done") used for a verbal noun ("the consulting about the thing . . . the doing of the thing"). This illustrates the preference of Latin for the concrete thing above the abstract notion. The ablative is instrumental—"you have work with consulting," etc., *i.e.* "you have need of consulting."

*consuleris*: perfect subjunctive; a primary tense of the subjunctive is regularly used after *ubi* when the verb is (as here) in the second person singular with indefinite meaning.

*mature*: qualifying *facto*.

§ 7. *utrumque*: referring to the notions "consultation" and "action."

*alterum*: in apposition to *utrumque*.

*auxilio*: ablative, the usual case with verbs expressing want or fulness.

Ch. 2. § 1. *igitur*: notice that Sallust generally puts *igitur* first

in a sentence; in classical Latin it is usually placed after the first word of the clause which it introduces.

**pari . . . alii**: these words are in partitive apposition to *reges*, i.e. they each refer only to a part of *reges*. *Pari* is often thus used by Sallust for *alii*, and in this sense is usually followed by a plural verb.

**sua cuique**: generally speaking the reflexive pronouns *se*, *sui*, *sibi*; and the possessive adjective *suus*, refer to the subject of the sentence; if *suus* is in the nominative case, it cannot, of course, relate to the subject, but usually refers to the direct or (as here) the indirect object.

§ 2. **postea . . . quam**: equivalent to *postquam*.

**Lacedaemonii et Athenienses**: the Lacedaemonians, otherwise called the Spartans, occupied Laconia in the Peloponnese (which is the southern peninsula of Greece); they were a powerful and warlike nation, and were acknowledged the leading state in Greece from about 550 B.C. up to the Persian War, which began in 490. Athens, the chief city of Attica, took the foremost part in repelling the Persian invaders, and rapidly acquired a large maritime power, and in 477 the Athenians were at the head of a large body of allies, whom they afterwards reduced almost to the condition of subjects. This position they lost at the close of the great Peloponnesian War in 404, when the Spartans regained the ascendancy and held it up to 371. Then followed the Theban and the Macedonian supremacies, in the interval between which Athens recovered for a short time (about 359 B.C.) a shadow of her former power.

**urbis**: acc. pl.; see note on *omnis*, ch. 1, § 1.

**tum demum**: "then and not till then." Cp. ch. 2, § 9, *is demum*, "he and only he."

**periculo atque negotiis**: instrumental ablatives with *conspertum est*.

**plurimum posse**: *posse* has the meaning "to have power," "to be effective," and *plurimum* is a neuter accusative of extent—"to be effective to the greatest extent."

§ 3. **quod si**: *quod* is really an accusative of extent referring vaguely to the previous sentence—"with regard to which," "in view of which." It is very commonly used to introduce *si*, and is often written in one word with it—*quodsi*. This may usually be translated "but if" or "now if."

**regum . . . imperatorum**: possessive genitives depending upon *animi*, which is a possessive genitive depending upon *virtus*.

**si . . . valeret . . . haberent**: the imperfect subjunctive is used, in conditional sentences when the condition is known to be untrue in the present.

**alio**: "in another direction," an adverbial use, similar to *quo* ("whither") and *eo* ("thither"). *Aliud alio* signifies "one thing in one direction, and another in another."

**ferri**: the Latin passive often has a reflexive or neuter sense. Here *ferri* is "carry itself," "go," "tend." So *mutari* may be translated by our neuter or intransitive "change," and similarly *inmutatur* in § 5.

§ 4. *artibus*: *artes* here, as often, denotes moral character as exhibited in action, and may be rendered "qualitics," or "habits."

*retinetur*: not a historic present, but expressing a general truth. So *inmutatur*, *transferitur*, *parent*, later on.

§ 5. *optimum quemque*: the phrase *optimus quisque* ("each best man" or "all the best men") may here be translated by "the best men."

§ 6. *quae*: accusative denoting the extent of the action of the three verbs that follow—"in the plunging, sailing, and building which men do."

§ 7. *dediti*: this is strictly reflexive (see *ferri*, § 3, n.)—"having given themselves up," but is adequately rendered by "given up."

*peregrinantes*: sojourners are foreigners, and consequently ignorant of the capacities and possibilities of the land in which for the time they are.

*transire*: the perfect is used in a gnomic (*i.e.* proverbial) sense of what commonly happens.

*voluptati . . . oneri*: predicative datives, expressing that for which a thing serves. The predicative dative is (1) joined to the verbs *sum* (as here), *habeo*, *do*, etc., and sometimes verbs of motion, (2) usually a semi-abstract substantive (as here), (3) always singular, (4) usually accompanied by a dative of the indirect object (as here by *quibus*).

*siletur*: impersonal—"silence is kept." Verbs intransitive in the active cannot be used in the passive except impersonally.

§ 8. *verum*: "but." *vero*: "in truth."

*aliquo negotio*: instrumental abl.—"kept busied with some employment."

*aliud alii*: "one to one, another to another." Cp. *aliud alio*, § 3, n.

Ch. 3. § 1. *absurdum*: *absurdus* properly means "out of tune," "discordant"; and so "irrational," "senseless." Here it may be rendered "inglorious."

*pace . . . bello*: instrumental ablatives.

*clarum fieri licet*: *lit.* "it is permitted that one should become famous," the construction being that of the "accusative and infinitive," though the accusative which is the subject of *fieri*, and with which *clarum* agrees, is omitted. The usual construction with *licet* is a dative followed by an infinitive; the predicative adjective (if there be one) is attracted into the dative: e.g. *mihi licet otioso esse*, "It is permitted to me to be idle" (*otioso* being dative by attraction to *mihi*).

§ 2. *in primis*: an adverbial phrase (meaning "especially") qualifying *arduum*.

*dictis*: ablative. Sallust means that noble deeds must be chronicled in noble language.

*reprehendens*: the subjunctive is consecutive, the antecedent of the relative being indefinite—"all such faults as one censures (*lit.* has censured)."

*ubi memores*: *ubi*, "when," is regularly used with the present or

perfect subjunctive when the verb is in the second person singular; used indefinitely. Cp. ch. 1, § 6, note on *consuleris*.

**factu**: the supine in -u (strictly the abl. case of a verbal noun of the 4th declension) stands as an abl. of respect ("easy in respect of the doing") after adjectives.

**aequo animo**: before this supply *ea* as the object of *accipit* and antecedent of *quae*.

**supra ea**: a short way of saying *quae supra ea sunt*, "what things are above those," i.e. above the things which he thinks easy for himself.

**ducit**: "considers," "esteems," a not uncommon meaning.

§ 3. **rem publicam**: here, as often, "public affairs," "politics."

§ 4. **quae**: as in the case of predicative adjectives, a relative referring to two or more feminine abstract nouns may be neuter plural.

**insolens malarum artium**: adjectives (as well as nouns) are often followed by an objective genitive, which represents the object of the verbal notion contained in those adjectives.

§ 5. **cum**: "although." When *cum* denotes mere identity of time, it is followed by an indie.; but when there is notion of concession (as here) or cause implied (i.e. when it can be rendered "although" or "since"), it is followed by the subjunctive.

**fama . . . invidia**: abl. of instrument. *Fama* ("report") means "good report" or "bad report" according to the context; here it is the latter.

**Ch. 4. § 1. mihi**: the agent with the gerund or gerundive is regularly expressed by a dative (really a variety of the dative of the indirect object, and connected rather with some part of the verb *esse*—here understood—than with the gerundive).

**reliquam . . . decrevi**: Sallust's retirement from active politics was in 44 B.C., the year of Caesar's death. See Introduction, § 1.

**colundo**: an old form of *colendo*. The gerund is a neuter verbal noun of the 2nd decl., used only in the sing., and in all cases except the vocative. It is always active, but, except in the genitive and occasionally the ablative (as here, where *colundo* governs *agrum* directly), cannot govern a direct object. The abl. here is instrumental with *intentum* (cp. *aliquo negotio*, ch. 2, § 9, n.).

**servilibus officiis**: in apposition to *colundo aut venando*.

**intentum**: agreeing with *me*, the suppressed subject of the infinitive *agere*.

§ 2. **eodem**: this is an adverb meaning "to the same (place)"; here it is equivalent to *ad eundem inceptum studiumque*. Note that the relative clause (as is often the case) precedes its grammatical antecedent, and that the noun is contained in the relative clause.

**res gestae**: *res gestae* has become so completely one expression as to be followed by a genitive and not by an ablatival expression depending on *gestae*.

*memoria* : abl. depending on *digna*.

*eo* : neuter ablative of measure, going with *magis*—"by so much more," i.e. "all the more" (cp. *pede altior*, "taller by a foot"). What *eo* is, is explained by the *quod*-clause that follows.

*mihi* : a dat. of the person concerned, and going so closely with *animus* as to be practically equivalent to *meus*.

§ 3. *quam verissime potero* : cp. *quam maxime*, ch. 1, § 3, n. Notice the tense of *potero* ; as the time referred to is future, Latin uses the future ; the use of the present ("as accurately as I am able") is an English idiom.

*paucis* : sc. *verbis*, instrumental abl.

§ 4. *in primis* : qualifying *memorabile* ; cp. ch. 3, § 2, n.

*novitate* : abl. of cause with *memorabile*.

§ 5. *prius . . . quam* : the component parts of *priusquam* are often thus separated. The present subjunctive is sometimes found with *priusquam* in reference to the future, particularly in introductory formulas (as here), though the present indicative is more usual.

Ch. 5. § 1. *nobili genere* : abl. of origin, a variety of the abl. of separation.

*magna vi . . . ingenio malo* : the abl. of quality, which (like the gen. of quality) cannot stand without an epithet. This abl. of quality stands as secondary predicate to *Catilina*.

§ 2. *ibi* : "in them" (*lit.* "there").

§ 3. *patiens* : sc. *fuit*, as in § 4 also.

*inediae, aliorum, vigiliae* : for these genitives after *patiens*, cp. *insolens artium*, ch. 3, § 4, n. Similar objective genitives in § 4 are *cuius rei lubet simulator, alieni adpeters, sui profusus*.

*quisquam* : *quisquam* (pronoun) and *ullus* (adj.) are used for "any" in sentences which contain a negative expressed or implied (comparative sentences, such as this is, always imply a negative, e.g. here it is implied that *no one* would believe it) ; *quilibet* and *quisvis* are used for "any" in affirmative sentences (*lit.* "any you please")—cp. *cuius rei lubet* in § 4.

§ 4. *cuius rei lubet* stands for *rei cuiuslibet* : the separation of the component parts of a word which is usually written as one is called *mesis* (a Greek word meaning "a cutting"). *Lubet* is an older spelling of *libet*, as *lubido* is of *libido*, *maximus* of *maximus*, *aestumo* of *aestimo*, etc.

*simulator* as *dissimulator* : *simulare* is "to pretend what is not the case," *dissimulare* is "to disguise what is the case."

*alieni* : neuter—"what belonged to another"

*sui* : neuter gen. sing. of *suus*—"what belonged to himself."

*satis . . . parum* : sc. *ei fuit*. *Eloquentiae* and *sapientiae* are instances of the partitive genitive, better termed "genitive of the divided whole."

§ 5. *vastus* : the primary meaning of this word is "empty" or "desolate" (cp. the verb *vastare*, "to lay waste") ; hence "unfilled," "insatiable," "capacious."

§ 6. *hunc* : the object of *intraserat*, which is here used transitively (contrast the absolute *intrare* of ch. 2, § 5).

*id* : object of *adsequeretur*.

*dum* . . . *pararet* : *dum* is here to be rendered "provided that"; in this sense it is always followed by the subjunctive.

*pensi* : a partitive genitive of *pensum* (pass. part. of *pendo*, "weigh"); "principle," "conscientious scruples." The sentence literally rendered is, "Nor had he any particle of principle (i.e. any scruples) by what methods he acquired that."

§ 7. in dies : *in dies* ("daily") is said of that which changes from day to day; *cottidie* ("daily") of that which recurs daily.

*inepia* . . . *conscientia* : instrumental ablatives with *agitabatur*.

*quae utraque* : acc. pl. neut., the antecedent being the two abstract nouns *inopia* and *conscientia*; cp. ch. 3, § 4, n.

§ 8. *luxuria atque avaritia* : in apposition to *mala* ("evils").

§ 9. *repetere* : either used intransitively ("to go back"), or governing the same objects as *disserere*. Notice the use of the infinitive (instead of *ut* with the subjunctive) after *hortari*; this construction is found when the subject (here *res*) of *hortari* is inanimate.

*paucis* : sc. *verbis*, as in ch. 4, § 3.

*domi militiaeque* : locative case. The other words in which the locative denoting place where is found are *ruri* ("in the country"), *humis* ("on the ground"), *belli* ("at the wars"), and names of towns and small islands of the first and second declensions, if singular in form.

*disserere* : this infinitive has four objects: (1) *instituta maiorum domi militiaeque*, (2) *quo modo (maiores) rem publicam habuerint*, (3) *quantum (maiores) rem publicam reliquerint*, (4) *ut (res publica) . . . facta sit*. *Ut* here means "how," the subjunctive being that of the dependent question.

CHAPS. 6—13. *The Romans, descended from Trojan settlers, were at first governed by kings. Merit, repressed under despotic rule, emerged after the expulsion of the kings, and obtained a complete ascendancy. But the reputation of the Romans, unlike that of the Athenians, suffered from a want of historical writers. Loyalty amongst themselves, justice and clemency, characterised them. But when the world lay at their feet, the lust of dominion first, and afterwards, especially under the influence of Sulla's victories, the lust of money rushed in, and with it a torrent of luxury, vice, and insatiable extravagance.*

[See Index for Carthago.]

Ch. 6. § 1. *Aenea duce* : abl. of attendant circumstances (abl. abs.)—"under the leadership of Aeneas." Similarly *ardibus incertis*.

§ 2. *una moenia* : *unus* is found in the plural, when it agrees with a noun plural in form but singular in meaning, e.g. *unae litterae*, "one epistle."

*postquam* . . . *convenere* : the conjunctions *antequam*, *priusquam*,

*pontquam*, take the perfect tense in Latin where in English the pluperfect is used.

*dispari genere, dissimili lingua*: ablatives of quality (cp. ch. 5, § 1) going with *hi*.

*alii*: in apposition to *hi*. *alii alio*: cp. ch. 2, § 3, n. *Alius* is thus used in the plural when it refers to sets or parties, not individuals.

*memoratu*: cp. *factu*, ch. 3, § 2, n.

*brevi*: sc. *tempore* or *spatio*, "in a short time."

*dispersa . . . vaga*: nominative, agreeing with *multitudo*. *concordia*: instrumental ablative.

§ 3. *res*: i.e. *res publica*.

*civibus, moribus, agris*: abl. of respect, expressing that in respect of which the word *aucta* is applicable.

*videbatur*: the force of the imperfect is "began to seem."

*mortalium*: "of men"—a possessive genitive.

*habentur*: reflexive in force (cp. *ferri*, ch. 2, § 3, n.)—"have themselves," i.e. "are."

*invidia*: "envy," on the part of the neighbours of Rome. *opulentia*: "wealth," on the part of Rome.

§ 4. *bello*: instrumental abl.

*temptare*: sc. *eos* (i.e. *Romanos*). This present infinitive, taking the place of the finite verb, and generally used in descriptive or rapid narrative, is called the "historic" infinitive. It is almost entirely confined to principal sentences. *Esse* and the infinitives in § 5 are also historic.

*auxilio*: predicative dat.; cp. *voluptati*, ch. 2, § 8, n.

§ 5. *domi militiaeque*: locative; see ch. 5, § 9, n.

*parentis*: acc. pl. of *pater*. "a parent."

*post*: adverb (= *postea*), "afterwards."

*sociis . . . amicis*: datives of advantage (variety of dat. of indirect object). *Ad socios . . . amicos* would have been more usual Latin.

§ 6. *imperium . . . habebant*: *lit.* "they had (i.e. were under) a supreme authority limited by law; (they had) the title of their supreme authority royal"; *legitimum* and *regium* are not epithets, but predicates.

*imperi*: contracted gen. sing.; cp. *ingeni*, ch. 1, § 3, n.

*delecti*: sc. *vir*.

*quibus*: possessive dative; cp. *mihi*, ch. 4, § 2, n.

*annis . . . sapientia*: ablatives of cause. Similarly *acate* and *similitudine* later.

*rei publicae*: dat. of advantage.

*curae similitudine*: i.e. from the resemblance of their charge or responsibility to that of natural fathers.

§ 7. *conservandae libertatis*: the genitive is one of quality, and stands as secondary predicate; translate—"which had been of a kind to preserve freedom." *Augendae rei publicae* is a similar genitive expression.

*convortit*: after *ubi*, "when," the perfect is often most naturally rendered by an English pluperfect.

**binos imperatores**: "two supreme commanders *every year*"—such is the force of the distributive numeral. These magistrates were at first called *praetors*, and afterwards *consuls*; they are said to have been first appointed in 509 B.C., on the expulsion of King Tarquinius Superbus.

**Ch. 7. § 1. quisque**: regularly used with a plural verb, being really in apposition only to a part of the subject (partitive apposition).

§ 3. **civitas**: subject of *creverit*.

**adapta libertate**: the perfect participle of *adipiscor*, as of many deponents, may be either active or passive in meaning; here it is passive.

^ **quantum**: neuter acc. of extent used adverbially, qualifying *creverit*.

^ § 4. **belli**: objective genitive; cp. *mediæ*, ch. 5, § 3, n.

† **usu**: instrumental abl. V.l. *per laboris usum militiam*, "they learnt warfare through the practice (or familiar usage) of hard work"; a third reading is *per laborem usum militiae*, "they learnt the practice (or art) of war through hard work."

**discebat**: notice the singular *discebat*, adapted to the form of the collective subject *iuventus*, while the plural *habebant*, later on, is adapted to the sense.

§ 6. **gloriae certamen**: *gloriae* is an objective genitive, representing a remoter object (the prepositional phrase *de gloria*) after the corresponding verb *certare*. Cp. *contentio honorum* ("competition for public offices"), which corresponds to *contendere de honoribus*.

**se hostem ferire properabat**: *se* is the subject of the infinitive *ferire*; cp. *se student praestare*, ch. 1, § 1, n. Here the pronoun *se* shows that each is represented as desiring not so much that the foes should be smitten, as that he himself should smite them.

**faceret**: the clause *dum tale facinus* is dependent on the infinitive *conspici*. The verb of a clause dependent on an infinitive is, according to rule, in the subjunctive mood, the reason being that the action represented by the clause is stated as part of a thought, not as a fact; e.g. (here) the man is supposed to have said to himself, "I will try to be seen while I am doing this."

**cas divitias**: an Englishman might expect *ea* here instead of *cas*; but *hic, is*, etc., when forming the subject of the sentence, are regularly attracted into the gender of the predicate.

§ 7. **possem . . . si traheret**: the sentence is not logically accurate, since the power (*possem*) is not conditional at all, but absolute ("I have the power to tell, and I would tell, did not," etc.).

**Ch. 8. § 1. ex**: "according to."

§ 2. **aliquanto**: abl. of measure, qualifying *minores*.

§ 3. **scriptorum magna ingenia**: *lit.* "great talents of writers," for "writers of great talent."

**pro maximis**: "as the greatest"—a development of the meaning "instead of," which *pro* often bears.

§ 4. **quantum**: adverbial, with *extollere*.



§ 5. *sua* . . . *facta laudari*: the subject (*sua facta*) of the infinitive *laudari* is expressed because it differs from that of the main verb *malebat*; but the subject of *narrare*, being identical with that of *malebat*, is not expressed.

Ch. 9. § 1. *legibus* . . . *natura*: causal ablatives.

§ 2. *supplicis*: *supplicium* properly signifies "a kneeling down" in prayer; hence it means (1) "worship," "sacrifice" (as here), or "atonement," and so (2) "penalty," "punishment" (the usual meaning in classical Latin).

*in amicos*: "towards friends."

§ 3. *ubi* . . . *evenerat*: *ubi* ("when") is often used with the pluperf. indie. to denote "whenever," the verb in the principal sentence being in the imperf. indie.

§ 4. *documenta haec*: explained by the two *quod*-clauses that follow, *quod* . . . *vindicatum est*, and *quod* . . . *agitabant et malebant*. *Quod* = "the fact that."

*vindicatum est*: here *vindico* is intransitive, followed by *in* with acc. In *vindicari*, ch. 10, § 6 (the passive used personally), we have the transitive *vindico*, which governs a direct object.

*contra imperium*: the most notable examples of this are: (1) in the great Latin War, just before the battle of Mount Vesuvius, the consul T. Manlius Torquatus put his son to death for accepting a challenge to single combat with the foe (340 B.C.); (2) in the second Samnite War the dictator L. Papirius Cursor was with difficulty deterred from putting to death Q. Fabius Maximus, his Master of the Horse, who had in his absence, and against his orders, attacked and defeated the enemy (325 B.C.).

*tardius*: qualifying *excesserant*. This is an instance of the absolute use of the comparative; the meaning is, not "more slowly," but "too slowly."

*quam*: sc. *in eos*. *Quam* refers back to *saeptis*.

*loco*: with *cedere*, as an abl. of separation or place from which, like *proelio* with *excesserant* in the preceding line.

§ 5. *quam*: equivalent to *magis quam*.

Ch. 10. § 1. *ubi*: the conjunction has five verbs dependent upon it, *crevit*, *domit* (*sunt*), *subacti* (*sunt*), *interiit*, and *putabant*; the principal verb is *cepit*.

*crevit*: for the tense see note on *convorsit*, ch. 6, § 7.

*nationes* . . . *populi*: *natio* is a racial or ethnological distinction, *populus* a political one.

*interiit*: Carthage was destroyed in 146 B.C. See Index.

§ 2. *optanda*: "things to be desired," in apposition to *otium* and *divitiae*.

*alias*: adverb—"at other times."

*oneri miseriaeque*: predicative dative, denoting that for which the subject of the sentence serves as or results in.

§ 3. *ea*: neut. pl. referring to two abstract feminine nouns (*cupidio imperi* and *cupidio pecuniae*). Cp. *quas*, ch. 8, § 4, n.

*materies*: of this declension the only other form is acc. sing. *materiem*; *materia* (-ae) is declined throughout.

§ 4. *neglegere* . . . *habere*: used as nouns in the accusative case, just like *superbiam* and *crudelitatem*. They are, however, verbal nouns, and hence themselves govern other nouns (*deos* and *omnia*).

§ 6. *inmutata* (*est*) . . . *factum* (*est*): these are the principal verbs.

*ex iustissimo*: "after being . . ."

Ch. 11. § 1. *propius*: a comparative adverb used here (like the positive *prope*) as a preposition governing the accusative.

§ 2. *ille* . . . *huic*: "the former . . . the latter."

§ 3. *pecuniae*: objective gen. with *studium*.

*copia* . . . *inepia*: instrumental ablatives.

§ 4. *recepta re publica*: in 82 B.C. See Index, s.v. SULLA.

*bonis initiis*: abl. of attendant circumstances (abl. abs.). The allusion is to Sulla's fair professions; *malos eventus* refers to his ruthless proscriptions.

*rapere*, *trahere*, *cupere*, *habere*, *facere*: historic infinitives. See ch. 6, § 4, n. *Rapere* and *trahere* are regular words for "plundering" and the like.

*domum alius alius agros*: the order may be preserved by translating: "a house was coveted by one, by another lands." This arrangement of words is known as chiasmus, from the Greek letter X, named *chi*. This may be illustrated thus:—

*domum alius*

*alius agros*

§ 5. *huc*: *lit.* "hither"; here the meaning is transferred from places to things—"to this."

*addebat quod*: "there was added the fact that." The subject of *addebat* is the whole clause *quod Sulla . . . habuerat*. *Huc addebat quod* may be briefly rendered "in addition to this."

*quem in Asia ductaverat*: Sulla was engaged in a war with Mithridates in Asia Minor from 87 to 84 B.C. Beware of translating "which he had led into Asia"; this would be *quem in Asiam duxerat*. Translate "which he had led from place to place (*ducto* is a frequentative of *duco*) in Asia."

*quo*: "that thereby" (= *ut eo*), with a final signification, and hence followed by the subjunctive; its antecedent is the clause *contra . . . habuerat*.

*fidem*: referring to *exercitum*.

*amoena*: "pleasant to the sight"; *iucundus* is used more generally, being applied to things pleasant either physically or mentally.

§ 6. *vasa*: *vas* in the sing. is a neut. noun of the 3rd decl., and in

the pl. a neut. noun of the 2nd decl. All the infinitives in this section follow *invenit*.

*privatim et publice*: "at the expense of private individuals and of communities."

§ 7. *reliqui*: partitive gen. (*lit.* "nothing of remaining").

§ 8. *ne*: here equivalent to *neque*, and to be rendered "much less." The ill effect of prosperity even on *wise men* is rhetorically regarded as preventing the occurrence of the event referred to in the dependent clause, viz. that *profligates* should exercise self-control in the hour of victory.

*illi*: i.e. Sulla's soldiers.

*corruptis moribus*: abl. of quality, with *illi*.

*victoriae*: dative. *Tempero*, in the sense of "forbear to injure," "spare," is followed by a dative (or *ab* with the abl.), either of a person, or (as here) of a thing—"much less were they to forbear to abuse their victory."

*temperarent*: the irregular sequence (after *fatigant*) is due to the transition from a general truth (*quippe . . . fatigant*) to the particular case in past time of Sulla's soldiers (*ne illi . . . temperarent*).

Ch. 12. § 1. *honoris*: predicative dative, like *probo* below *potentia*; to be distinguished from *potestas*: the former denotes power that a man owes to his own character, wealth, influence, etc., i.e. unconstituted authority; the latter is applied to power that attaches to the possession of a public office, i.e. constituted authority. *habescere . . . haberi . . . duoi*: infinitives dependent on *coepit*, the principal verb.

*pro malivolentia*: for *pro* meaning "as" cp. *pro maxumis*, ch. 8, § 3, 2.

§ 2. *rapere . . . habere*: these infinitives are historic.

*sua parvi pendere*: *lit.* "they weighed their own possessions at little." *Parvi* is locative, denoting position on an imaginary scale of values. *Tanti, quanti, magni*, and a few other words are similarly used. Distinguish *pendere* (trans.), "to weigh," from *pendere* (intrans.), "to hang."

*habere*: this goes with both *pudorem . . . promiscua* and *nihil . . . moderati*, but with slightly different meanings. *lit.* "they deemed modesty, chastity, divine things and human things, worthless; they had no principle, no self-restraint." Beware of translating *promiscua habere* by "made no distinction between" (*lit.* "held or regarded as undistinguished"); this would make a good contrast between *divina* and *humana*, but is pointless with *pudorem* and *pudicitiam*. *Divina atque humana* are the claims (or rights) of gods and men. *Pensi* and *moderati* are partitive genitives, depending on *nihil*; *pensi* is the pass. part. of *pendo* ("weighed," "considered"), and has not here the sense of "valuable" which it often has.

§ 3. *operae pretium est . . . visere templa*: *lit.* "to visit the temples is a reward of the trouble (you take in so doing)," i.e. "it is worth while to visit the temples."

§ 4. *victis*: dative of the indirect object, the regular case (after verbs of *taking away*) to denote the person *from* whom something is taken. Cp. *sociis*, § 5.

*iniuriae licentiam*: "liberty to inflict wrong."

§ 5. *proinde quasi* . . . *esset*: *proinde quasi*, "just as if," introduces a conditional clause without any expressed apodosis; the condition is represented as unfulfilled, i.e. it is implied that to inflict wrong is *not* the natural use to make of authority.

*id*: resumptive, referring to *iniuriam facere*.

Ch. 13. § 1. *quid*: an adverb, "why?"

*memorem*: deliberative subjunctive, "am I to relate?"

*nemini*: the decl. of *nemo* (= *no-homo*, "no man") is N. *nemo*, Acc. *neminem*, G. *nullius*, D. *nemini*, Abl. *nullo* (m.) and *nullā* (f.). In the pl. *nulli* must be used.

*a privatis* . . . *esse*: acc and inf. clauses explaining *ea*.

† *subversos montis, maria constrata esse*: the overthrowing of mountains is an allusion to Lucullus, an enormously wealthy Roman, cutting a trench through some hills in the neighbourhood of Baiae, and the paving of seas is an allusion to the practice, that had become common among the wealthy and luxurious nobles, of building their sea-side villas actually in the sea. Inasmuch as the object of Lucullus' trench was to let the sea into his *piscinas* or fish-ponds, most editors have adopted the reading *constructa* ("seas—or fish-ponds—have been constructed"). But on the other hand it may be urged (1) that Lucullus did also build actually in the sea, (2) that in ch. 20, § 11, Sallust refers to the rich squandering their wealth by *levelling mountains* and building up, i.e. *filling with buildings, the sea*.

§ 2. *quibus*: dat. of indirect obj. with *fuisset*. *mihī*: dat. of indir. obj. with *videntur*. *ludibrio*: predicative dative—"a jest, sport," and therefore contemptuously squandered and thrown away.

*quas*: the antecedent to be supplied is *eis* (referring to *divitiae*), since *abutor* governs the ablative.

§ 3. *terra marique*: these are local ablatives which (contrary to the general rule) are always found without a preposition.

*esset*: the subjunctive denotes that the desire for sleep was *purposely anticipated* and the occurrence of the desire prevented.

§ 5. *eo profusius*: lit. "by so much (abl. of measure) the more immoderately."

CHAPS. 14—19. *In so corrupt a society Catiline easily obtained a large following of ruined and abandoned men, as well as of young men whom he had enticed. Goaded by the stings of conscience into conspiracy, he determined first of all to sue for the consulship, and held a meeting of the most desperate and daring in June, 64 B.C., which was attended by many senators and young nobles. Two years previously Catiline had originated a conspiracy, which had fallen through, after he had made two futile attempts to bring it to a head.*

[See Index for **M. Lucinius Crassus** and **Cn. Pompeius**.]

Ch. 14. § 1. *id.* in apposition to the whole sentence, excluding (of course) the relative clause *quod . . . erat*.

*flagitiorum . . . facinorum*: the abstract for the concrete—"scoundrels and criminals." The root notion of *flagitium* is a disgraceful act done in the heat of passion (*flag-rare*, "to burn"); that of *facinus* is a crime which is also a striking achievement (*fac-ere*, "to achieve").

§ 2. *alienum aes*: "the money of another," *i.e.* "debt."

*quo*: equivalent to *ut eo* (final), "in order that by it."

§ 3. *parricidae*: though (as some say) originally meaning "the murderer of a parent," *parricida* came to mean simply "a murderer."

*manus atque lingua*: *manus*, the hand of violence, answers to the instrumental abl. *sanguine civili*, whereas *lingua*, the perjured tongue, answers to *periurio*. This is a good instance of chiasmus:—

<i>manus</i>	X	<i>lingua</i>
<i>periurio</i>		<i>sanguine</i>

Cp. note on *domum alius alius agros*, ch. 11, § 4.

§ 4. *quod si quis*: "but if anyone." *Quis* is used in the sense of "anyone" after the words *si*, *nisi*, *num*, and *ne*.

*si . . . inciderat . . . efficiebatur*: for the tenses cp. *ubi ceciderat*, ch. 9, § 3, *n.*

*a culpa*: *vacuus* is more usually followed by a simple ablative.

§ 5. *adulescentium*: objective gen., representing an ablative (*adulescentibus familiariter uti*).

*etiam*: "still."

§ 6. *ut . . . flagrabat*: *lit.* "as the desire of every man burned strong in accordance with his time of life."

*praebere . . . mercari . . . parcere*: historic infinitives, the subject of which is *Catilina* understood.

*dum . . . faceret*: *dum* with the subjunctive is here to be rendered "provided that"; cp. *dum pararet*, ch. 5, § 6, *n.*

*obnoxios*: "submissive," "under an obligation," not "obnoxious."

Ch. 15. § 2. *nubere*: "to marry" (said of a woman); properly "to veil." In the sense of "to marry" *nubere* takes the dative (here *illi*).

*dubitabat*: in the sense of "to hesitate" *dubitare* may take an infinitive (here *nubere*).

*adulta aetate*: abl. of quality. Cp. *magna vi*, ch. 5, § 1, *n.*

*vacuam nuptiis*: dative of advantage, a variety of the dative of the indirect object—"empty for the marriage."

§ 3. † *facinus maturandi*: *maturandi* is a gerund (*i.e.* a verbal noun) in the genitive case depending on *causa*, and governs *facinus* as a direct object. V.l. *facinoris maturandi*, where *maturandi* is a gerundive (*i.e.* a verbal adjective) agreeing with *facinoris*, which is in the gen. case depending on *causa*.

§ 4. *infestus*: best taken in an active sense—"hostile to."

§ 5. *ei*: possessive dative; it goes closely with *color*, so as to be practically equivalent to *eius*.

Ch. 16. § 1. *iuventutem mala facinora edocebat*: verbs of teaching (*doceo, edoceo, dedoceo*), concealing (*celo*), and some of asking (*rogo, oro, posco, flagito*), govern two accusatives; one (here *iuventutem*) is the direct obj., and the other (here *facinora*) is an acc. of extent or respect; e.g. *vos doceo virtutem*, "I instruct you in respect of virtue."

§ 2. *commodare*: historic infinitive.

*habere*: the object-clause after *impero* should, according to rule, be expressed by *ut* with subjunctive. Here *habere* is used as a noun in the acc. case, corresponding to *maiora alia*, which is also a direct obj. of *imperabat*. The person upon whom the injunction is laid is put in the dative case; hence *eis* must be understood.

§ 3. *si . . . snbpetebat*: in conditional sentences, where the condition is one that may or may not have been fulfilled in the past, the indicative is used in both clauses. Here, in the apodosis, the historic infinitive (*circumvenire, iugulare*) is substituted for the indicative.

*in praesens*: *in* signifies "with a view to," "to meet the exigencies of," and hence is followed by an accusative. *Praesens* is a neut. acc. adj. (originally a pres. part. of *praesum*) used substantively in the sense of "the present time."

*minus*: the comparative, like the superlative *minime*, is often practically equivalent to *non*, though milder in tone.

*nihilo*: abl. of measure, with the comparative *minus*. The neut. noun *nihilum* is used in the accusative (*nihilum*), the ablative (*nihilo*), and the locative (*nihili*). (In the last-named case it expresses value; cp. *parvi*, ch. 12, § 2, n.) The form *nihil* is indeclinable.

*scilicet* (= *scire licet*, "you may know"): often used with a half-ironical sense.

*manus*: to be taken as plural, not singular, as two singular nouns connected by *aut* would require a singular verb.

*potius . . . erat*: i.e. he preferred being wantonly wicked to getting his hand out of practice.

§ 4. *eis amicis*: *confido* governs both the dat. and abl., but in the latter case it is nearly always applied to trusting to things and not persons; hence *amicis* here is probably dat.

*res alienum*: "debt."

*Sullani milites*: i.e. the men who had fought under Sulla.

*obprimendae*: *obprimere* does not mean "to oppress," but "to overthrow" or "overwhelm."

§ 5. *nihil*: adverbial accusative—"not at all."

*ea*: neut. pl.—"that very fact," referring to the safety and tranquillity.

Ch. 17. § 1. *kalendas Iunias*: the "kalends" (*kalendae*) fell on the first day of each month; the name of the month is expressed by

an adjective in agreement with *kalendae*—here “the June kalenda,” i.e. June 1st.

**L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus**: “in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus,” *lit.* “L. Caesar and C. Figulus being consuls”; the ablative is one of attendant circumstances (abl. abs.).

**appellare**: the subject of these historic infinitives is *Catilina* understood.

**inparatam rem publicam**: the concrete for the abstract—“the unprepared state” for “the unpreparedness of the state.” Cp. *post conditam urbem*, “since the foundation of the city” (ch. 18, § 8).

§ 2. **quae voluit**: sc. *explorare*.

**necessitudo**: the meaning here is “need.”

§ 3. **eo**: adverbial—“thither.” Cp. *quo*, “whither.”

**senatorii ordinis**: gen. of quality, which (like the abl. of quality) cannot stand without an attribute.

**P. et Ser. Sullae**: “Publius (Sulla) and Servius Sulla”; the two individual names (each in the singular) stand as attributes to the family name, the latter being in the plural.

§ 4. **equestri ordine**: in early times the *equites* of Rome were the wealthiest of the citizens, who acquired that name from the fact of their serving as cavalry. Later, when rich men came to dislike service, they ceased to form any part of the army, and the cavalry was supplied by the allies. The Roman *equites*, however, retained their name, and became a separate class in the state—the *Equester Ordo* (123 B.C.)—of less high rank than the Senators, but possessing the privilege of serving as jurors in courts of justice. This was the most important and (though in abeyance from 80 to 70 B.C.) the most lasting of the innovations of Gaius Gracchus. Shortly after Cicero's time the property which qualified for admission to the order was fixed at 400,000 sesterces, £3100 in English money, but, owing to the greater purchasing power of money at Rome, equivalent to a much larger sum. Thus the *equites* were merely the rich non-senatorial class—bankers, merchants, and capitalists; and their great importance was due to their being virtually the revenue officers of the Republic. They bought the right to collect the taxes (especially those of Asia) at an annual auction, and made what they could out of their bargain by dint of extortion.

**coloniis et municipiis**: the Social War (91–89 B.C.) resulted in the passing of the *Lex Julia* (90 B.C.) and *Lex Plautia Papiria* (89 B.C.), which extended the full *civitas* or franchise to the Latins and Italians. The position of the towns, however, continued to show gradations of rank, and their relations with the governing power at Rome were as diverse as they had previously been. We may divide the towns as Roman and non-Roman; and we may further subdivide roughly the former into *coloniae*, *municipia*, and *praefecturae*; the latter into *civitates foederatae*, *civitates sine foedere immunes et liberae*, and *civitates stipendiariae*. The position of the *coloniae* was highest. Originally they were of two kinds, the *coloniae civium Romanorum* and the *coloniae Latinae*; but the distinctions, as far

at least as Italy was concerned, were removed by the Social War. The former, as offshoots from Rome, had all along enjoyed the privileges of the *civitas Romana*. Their government was an imitation of that of Rome, consisting of a senate (*decuriones*) and officers (*duumviri*) representing consuls. The *municipia* were governed by their own citizens, each in its own way; but after the Social War they gradually adopted the forms of government prevailing in the *coloniae*. The *praefecturae* differed from the two preceding in being governed by officers (*praefecti iuri dicundo*) from Rome, nominated annually by the *praetor urbanus*, or in some cases elected at the *comitia tributa* under his presidency. The difference was mainly felt in judicial matters, which were under the control of the *praefectus* as the deputy of the Roman praetor.

*domi* : i.e. in their own towns.

*nobiles* : those who could count among their ancestors men who had filled high offices of state.

§ 5. *huiusce* : *huius*, the genitive of *hic*, + *-ce*, a demonstrative suffix.

§ 6. *nobilium* : genitive dependent on *inventus* repeated.

*quibus* : the antecedent of *quibus* and subject of *malebant* is *ei* understood.

*vivere copia* : for the usual *vivendi copia*, just as we say both "the opportunity to live" and "the opportunity of living." This use of the infinitive is called *epexegetic* (explanatory), as it explains what the opportunity was for. It retains the original force of the infinitive, which was for the most part a dative case of a verbal noun (*copia vivere*, "opportunity for living"), the dative being one of "purpose" or "work contemplated."

§ 7. *fuere qui crederent* : the phrases *sunt qui*, *erant qui*, etc., are followed by the subjunctive because they do not indicate definite individuals, but indefinite classes (*qui* = *tales ut* it).

*ductabat* : the verb of a dependent clause in *oratio obliqua* should be in the subjunctive; the indicative *ductabat* may be explained by regarding the clause as Sallust's own statement, and not properly belonging to the reported speech at all.

*potentiam* : " (usurped) power " ; see note on ch. 12, § 1.

*si . . . fore* : what Crassus is here imagined to say or think would be thus expressed directly—*si coniuratio valuerit* (fut. perf.), *facile apud illos princeps ero*.

*illos* : i.e. the conspirators implied in *coniuratio*. Cp. *de qua*, ch. 18, § 2.

Ch. 18. § 2. *de qua* : *coniuratione* must be supplied from *coniurare*.

*quam verissime potero* : " as accurately as I can " ; cp. ch. 4, § 3, n.

*M'* : the recognised abbreviation for *Manius*.

*legibus ambitus* : the most notable of the numerous laws against *ambitus* (bribery at elections) was the severe *Lex Calpurnia* of



B.C. 67 (named after C. Calpurnius Piso, one of the consuls of that year), which made it impossible for a man once convicted to become a candidate again.

**interrogati**: here practically equivalent to *accusati* or *inimulati* ("accused"), but strictly *interrogare* is a technical term for a judicial examination of the accused (*reus*) before the praetor, preliminary to the trial.

**poenas dederant**: *poenas dare* ("to pay the penalty") is a regular phrase for the passive "to be punished," the active "to punish" being correspondingly expressed by *poenas sumere* ("to take or receive [from the culprit] the penalty").

§ 8. **pecuniarum repetundarum**: *lit.* "of moneys to be sought back or reclaimed," i.e. of extortion in the administration of a province. Catiline had held a provincial command, as praetor, in Africa (67-66 B.C.). Verbs of accusing take a genitive of the charge preferred—e.g. *Balbus ambitus accuso*, "I accuse Balbus of bribery"; *reus*, being equivalent to the pass. part. *accusatus*, takes the same construction. Catiline's accuser was P. Clodius Pulcher, afterwards Cicero's bitter enemy.

**prohibitus erat**: the fact of an impending trial on some serious charge did not necessarily incapacitate a man from being a candidate for public office, but the consul (who on this occasion was strongly influenced by the Senate against Catiline) had the right, if he liked, to refuse to receive the name of such a candidate. It also seems that if judicial proceedings had advanced as far as the selection of the jury, the accused was incapacitated from candidature. Catiline's inability to declare himself, which Sallust speaks of (*quod... nequiverat*), was due to the consul's above-mentioned refusal to receive his name.

**petere**: an irregular use of the epexegetical infinitive (see *vivere*, ch. 17, § 6, n) instead of *quominus peteret*.

**legitimos dies**: "the period appointed by law," between the public announcement of the day of election and the day itself. This period was that between the first and the last of three successive market days (*nundinae*). The *nundinae* (*novum + dies*) occurred every eighth (or, according to the Roman inclusive method of reckoning, every ninth) day; hence the period referred to was one of seventeen days.

**proferri**: sc. *nomen*, "give in his name."

**nequiverat**: the best MSS. have *nequiverit* (perf. subj.), but neither the mood nor the tense is defensible.

§ 5. **nones Decembris**: "the nones of December" (*Decembris* is an adj. in acc. pl.), i.e. December 5th. "In March, July, October, May, the Nones are on the 7th day"; in other months they are on the 5th. The Nones always occur eight days (nine days according to the inclusive Roman method of reckoning—hence the name *Nonae*) before the Ides, which are consequently either on the 13th or 15th.

**in Capitolio**: on January 1st the new consuls went in procession to the Capitol (the most important of the seven hills of Rome, on which was the famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus), there to offer sacrifice

and receive the greetings of the other magistrates and the chief nobles.

*ipsi*: Catiline and Autronius. Grammatically the word should emphasise *mittere*, but really it emphasises *fascibus correptis* ("having themselves seized the fasces"), the irregularity being due to the substitution of the abl. abs. for *fasces corripere et*.

*fascibus*: the *fasces* were bundles of rods carried by attendants called lictors before the consuls, praetors, and (when there was one) the dictator. The rods symbolised authority to flog.

*optinendas*: *optinere* is "to hold," here "to govern"—the meaning "to obtain" is rare.

*duas Hispanias*: the two Spains were Hispania Citerior ("Hither" Spain, so called as being nearer to the Romans, who travelled by land) and Hispania Ulterior ("Further" Spain). They were formed into provinces in 197 B.C., after the close of the second Punic War, each being, at the period of which Sallust is treating, governed by a *propraetor*. Later, Spain was re-divided by Augustus into Baetica—the modern Andalusia, Lusitania—the modern Portugal (these two corresponded to Hispania Ulterior), and Tarraconensis—the rest of Spain (this corresponded to Hispania Citerior).

§ 7. *consulibus*: dative of indirect object.

§ 8. *quod nō*: "and unless," *quod* being properly an accusative of extent—"as to which thing." *Nō* = *nisi*.

*post conditam urbem*: "since the foundation of the city"; cp. *inparatam rem publicam*, ch. 17, § 1, *n*.

*frequentes*: predicatively with *concreverant*—"in numbers."

Ch. 19. § 1. *quaestor pro praetore*: Piso, although only a *quaestor* (or paymaster, such as accompanied provincial governors), was given the rank of a *propraetor* (a title used in later Latin for *pro praetore*)—a proceeding usually due to there being an insufficient number of praetors, but here due to a desire to get rid of a dangerous citizen. Before the time of Sulla provinces were governed by praetors specially elected for the purpose; one of Sulla's laws (*Leges Corneliae*), however, provided that the praetors should not leave Rome during their year of office; but those who had served as consuls or praetors in the preceding year were sent to govern *pro consule* and *pro praetore* in the consular and praetorian provinces respectively.

*cognoverat*: indie. mood, because Sallust gives the reason on his own authority. *Cognoscere* means not "know" but "get to know"; so *cognoverat* means "had got to know," and therefore "knew."

§ 2. *quippe*: usually *quippe* is an adverb meaning "in fact"; here it is a conjunction equivalent to *nam*, "for." This meaning of *quippe* is not found in Cicero or Caesar.

*boni*: i.e. members of the conservative and aristocratic party.

*praesidium*: "a safeguard," i.e. against the power of Pompeius.

*in eo*: sc. *esse*.

§ 4. † *dicant*: v.l. *dicunt*. *Sunt qui dicant* = "there are persons

such as say"; cp. note on *crederent* in ch. 17, § 7. *Sunt qui dicunt* = "there are certain definite persons (that I could name) who say."

§ 5. *alii*: sc. *dicunt*.

*nos*: "I." The use in Latin of the first person plural for the first person singular is frequent; it generally is intended to give an air of modesty to the statement.

*in medio*: "open," "undecided."

CHAPS. 20—25. *His associates having assembled as related in Ch. 17, Catiline delivers a harangue in which he still further fires their passions by drawing a vivid contrast between their condition and that of the wealthy men of the state. He further details the rewards to be reaped from a revolution and the plans by which he was endeavouring to ensure success. According to one story, the oath of mutual fidelity taken by the conspirators was rendered more binding by the ceremony of drinking from a bowl of wine in which human blood was mixed. Q. Curius, however, one of the conspirators, betrayed the secret to his mistress Fulvia, who reported the matter to several persons. Alarmed by the rumour, the aristocracy determined to support the "novus homo," Cicero, in his candidature for the consulship of B.C. 63: with the result that he and Antonius were elected consuls. Catiline only grew more furiously determined, and continued to gather round him men and women of the most abandoned character. One of these was the notorious Sempornia.*

[See Index for Antonius and Cicero]

Ch. 20. § 1. *in rem*: *res* signifies here "practical utility," and *in rem esse* signifies "to conduce to practical utility." The subject of *fore* is *appellare et cohortari*.

§ 2 *spectata*: neuter plural, standing as predicate to the two feminine abstract substantives *virtus* and *fides*. *Vostra* is an attribute (fem. sing.) agreeing with *fides*, but applying also to *virtus*.

*opportuna*: "opportunately"; cp. note on *frequentes* in ch. 18, § 8.

*per ignaviam aut vana ingenia*: "by the aid of cowards or unstable characters." Note in *ignaviam* the use of the abstract for the concrete, the exact reverse of the usual Latin idiom.

*neque . . . captarem*: note the change of tense—"nor should I [now] be aiming at."

§ 3. *eo*: "by reason of that fact" (causal abl.), i.e. "for that reason."

*facinus*: "a deed" (cp. *facio*), generally "a bad deed," "crime," but here used in a good sense.

§ 4. *ea*: *id* (resumptive of *idem velle atque idem nolle*) is attracted by the predicate *amicitia* into the fem. sing.; cp. *cas divitias*, ch. 7, § 6, n.

§ 5. *diversi*: adverbial—"separately" or "individually"; equivalent to *singulis* of § 1.

§ 6. *noamet*: accusative, the direct object of *vindicamus*. The

suffix *-met* can be added for emphasis to most forms of the personal pronouns.

**vindicamus**: *vindicare* (from *vim dicere*, "to assert authority [over] ") means first "to claim" or "to appropriate," and from this comes the common phrase *vindicare aliquem in libertatem*, "to claim a person into liberty," "to deliver." From the notion of delivering came that of defending, and then that of avenging, and by an easy process that of punishing (the sense in which the word is used in ch. 9, § 4, and ch. 10, § 6).

§ 7. **tetrarchas**: *tetrarches* (a Greek noun of the first declension) means etymologically "a ruler of the fourth part of a country," but is here used to denote merely a petty Eastern potentate.

**vestigales**: this is the nom. plur. of the adj. *vestigalis*, "paying *vestigal* or tribute."

**populi nationes**: for the distinction see ch. 10, § 1, n.

**pendere**: infinitive (historic, like *esse*) of *pendo* (3rd conj.), transitive. Distinguish this from *pendere*, inf. of *pendeo* (2nd conj.), intrans.

**formidini**: predicative dat. Cp. *voluptati*, ch. 2, § 8, n., and *ludibrio*, § 9, below.

§ 8. **repulsa**: *repulsa* was the technical term for defeat at an election.

§ 9. **tandem**: this is not the adverb meaning "at length," but the enclitic particle (found only in interrogative sentences)—"pray."

**fortissumi**: ironical.

**per virtutem . . . per dedecus**: equivalent to ablatives of manner.

**fuertis**: *ubi* meaning "when" is constructed with the present or perfect subjunctive if the verb is in the second person singular used (as here) indefinitely—"when one has been."

§ 10. **pro**: less correctly written *proh*, an interjection (not to be confounded with the preposition governing the abl. case). Though sometimes found in conjunction with the voc. case, and sometimes with no case at all, it is nearly always in classical prose connected, as here, with the accusative, which is really the object of some such verb as *obsecro* or *obtestor* understood.

**deum**: an archaic form of the gen. plur. of *deus*, collateral with *deorum* and usually confined to poetry.

**illis**: dat. of person concerned, a variety of dat. of indirect object.

**annis atque divitiis**: causal ablatives.

**incepto opus est**: see note on *consulto*, ch. 1, § 6.

**cetera**: not agreeing with *res* (subject), but acc. pl. neut., object of *expediet*. *Res* = "events."

§ 11. **tolerare**: the object is the phrase *illis divitias . . . illum esse*.

**superare**: intransitive, with the meaning of *superesse*, "be over and above" (said of what is superfluous).

**profundant**: final subjunctive (*quas* = *ut eas*), expressing the purpose served by their possession of riches.

† **extruendo**: "building up," i.e. "filling up with buildings."

See note on *subversos montis*, ch. 13, § 1. V.l. *extrudendo*, "thrusting out"—the building being carried into the sea, and the sea thus thrust out from the land.

**lares**: the *lares* were the guardian deities of a house; their images stood in a shrine on the hearth; hence *lar* is often used (as here) for the "hearth" itself.

§ 12. **cum**: being really concessive ("although"), as the *tamen* later on indicates, *cum* would in Cicero be followed by the subjunctive. Note that *emunt*, *diruunt*, *aedificant*, *trahunt*, *vivunt*, are all under the control of *cum*.

**toreumata**: articles of embossed or *repoussé* work.

**vincere**: "conquer," i.e. "destroy" or "get rid of."

§ 13. **quid reliqui**: *lit.* "what of remaining" (partitive genitive).

**animam**: "the breath of life," i.e. mere "existence." *Vita* is "life" in a much wider sense. *Animus* is the "mind" or "soul."

§ 14. **quin**: *quin* consists of the adverb *qui* ("how" or "why") + *ne* ("not"), and when used with the indicative in an interrogative sentence, as here, means "why not?"

**sita**: neut. pl., the members of the subject (*libertas*, *divitiae*, *decus*, *gloria*) being of different genders.

Ch. 21. § 1. **abunde**: notice the use of the adverb instead of the predicative adjective which generally goes with *esse*.

**quieta movere**: this is the subject of *ridebatur*.

§ 2. **polliceri**: note the two constructions which follow *pollicer*, (1) the substantive as object, as here; (2) the objective phrase, consisting of acc. and fut. inf., e.g. *pollicer me venturum esse*, "I promise to come."

**tabulas novas**: new tablets or new account books, i.e. the cancelling of outstanding debts.

**proscriptionem**: *proscriptio* properly meant a written public notice, but from the time of Sulla it bore also the unfavourable meaning of the posting of men's names for death and spoliation ("proscription lists").

§ 3. **esse Pisonem**: the accusative with the infinitive is dependent on the notion of "saying" implied in *polliceri*, which is historic infinitive.

**necessitudinibus**: "distress," "straits," due to the heavy debts which he had contracted.

§ 4. **bonos**: "respectable citizens."

**suae**: here used referring not to the subject but to *alium*.

**victoriae Sullanae**: culminating in the victory of the Colline Gate. See Index, s.v. SULLA.

**praedae**: predicative dative. Cp. note on *voluptati*, ch. 2, § 8. Likewise *curae* in § 6.

Ch. 22. § 1. **fuere qui dicerent**: see note on *crederent*, ch. 17, § 7. **popularis**: acc. pl. The word signifies here "accomplices" and is followed by a quasi-objective genitive.

§ 2. *inde*: "of it," referring to *sanguinem vino permixtum*.

*eo*: "for that reason" (causal abl.), anticipating *quo*, which is regularly substituted for final *ut* where there is a comparative in the clause.

† *dictitare*: historic infinitive, "they constantly affirmed." As subject to *fecisse* supply *Catilinam*. The text, however, is probably corrupt, as the historic infinitive is here quite out of place.

*alii alii*: these words may either be taken as explaining *inter se*, in which case the dat. *alii* depends on *fidus* (supplied from *fidi*), or they may go with *tanti facinoris conscii*, the dat. being dependent on *conscius*, supplied from *consoii* (cp. *conscire sibi*, "to be conscious within oneself," *lit.* "to share knowledge with oneself"). *Alius* is in partitive apposition to the subject of *foret*.

§ 3. *Ciceronis*: objective gen.—"the ill-feeling directed against Cicero."

*nobis*: dative of the agent, very commonly used with perfect passive tenses; really this dative is one of the person concerned, and goes closely with the copula *esse*: "this matter is for me one that is insufficiently ascertained."

Ch. 23. § 1. *flagitiis et facinoribus*: see ch. 14, § 1, n.

*censores*: the supervision of the public morals, which was one of the *censores*' special functions, was frequently exercised by the removal from the list of the Senate of all to whose character any special scandal attached.

*senatu*: the ablative of separation, used without a preposition.

§ 2. *vanitas*: "faithlessness"; cp. *vana ingenia*, ch. 20, § 2, n.

*reticere, occultare, dicere, facere*: epexegetic infinitives with *quicquam pensi habebat*; see note on *pensi*, ch. 8, § 6. *Lit.* "he had no principle for (i.e. with regard to) keeping silence . . . or concealing, . . . or in short either saying or doing."

§ 3. *inopia*: causal abl.

*interdum*: "occasionally"; *nonnumquam* = "a good many times."

*foret*: the verb is subjunctive, the clause containing a reported condition, i.e. a condition represented as having been laid down at the time of the action of the main verb (*minari coepit*); Curius said, "*Ferro te interimam, ni mihi obnoxia eris.*"

§ 4. *insolentiae*: beware of translating this by "insolence." It is "unaccustomed behaviour" (from *in-*, negative, and *soleo*, "I am wont").

*rei publicae*: possessive genitive (not dative) dependent on *periculum*.

*sublato auctore*: *tollere* may here be translated "to suppress the name of."

§ 6. *aestuabat, oredebant*: see *discebat, habebant*, ch. 7, § 4, n.

*homo novus*: a candidate for office who was not *nobilis*, i.e. none of whose family had ever held a curule magistracy. The curule magistrates, i.e. those who had a right to the *scilla curulis*, a

state chair inlaid with ivory, were the consuls, praetors, and curule aediles.

**foret**: subjunctive, because dependent on the accusative and infinitive phrase *pollui consulatum*. What they said was *Polluitur consulatus, si enim homo novos adeptus erit*, "the consulship is polluted (present vividly used for future), if a 'new man' shall gain it."

**Ch. 24. § 1. comitiis habitis**: the election was held in 64 B.C. for the appointment of the consuls of 63 B.C.

**popularis**: "accomplices"; see ch. 22, § 1, n.

**concusserat**: the pluperf. is used with reference to the time of the following verb *minuebatur*.

**§ 2. fide**: modal ablative, "credit."

**mutuam**: "on loan."

**Faesulas ad Manlium**: observe the Latin idiom—"to Faesulae to Manlius." In English we say 'to Manlius at Faesulae.'

**princeps belli faciundi**: i.e. *primus bellum fecit*.

**§ 4. servitia**: "slaves"—abstract for the concrete. *Servitium* denotes "a state of slavery," and is also used in the singular or (as here) in the plural for "the slave class."

**Ch. 25. § 1. virilis audaciae**: genitive of quality.

**§ 2. genere, forma, viro, liberis, litteris**: ablatives of respect, or "thing in point of which." Her husband was D. Junius Brutus (consul in 77 B.C.), and one of her children, D. Junius Brutus Albinus, afterwards joined the conspiracy to assassinate Caesar which was headed by Cassius and M. Brutus.

**psallere et saltare**: note the change of construction from the abl. *litteris* (see above) to the prolativ infinitives, which may be regarded as verbal nouns in the accusative case like the following *multa alia* (verbs of teaching take in the active an acc. of the person and an acc. of the thing, the latter of which is retained in the passive).

**§ 4. pecuniae**: before *pecuniae* supply *utrum*.

**haud facile discerneres**: *lit.* "you would not easily have been deciding," the reference being to a continuous action in the past (cp. *credere*, "you would have thought"). *Discerneres* is a potential subjunctive, which is explained as the subjunctive in the apodosis of a conditional sentence whose protasis is not expressed.

**creditum**: the primary meaning of *credere* is "to lend" or "entrust"; hence *creditum* in business language denotes "debt." She had committed perjury to get rid of her debts.

**caedis**: objective gen. depending on *consilia* ("privy," *lit.* "sharing the knowledge").

**luxuria atque inopia**: causal ablatives.

**§ 5. posse**: this must be taken as historic infinitive, though this use of the infinitive is not generally found singly or otherwise than in narrative.

CHAPS. 26—32. *Catiline was determined to be a candidate for the consulship of the ensuing year (62 B.C.); at the same time he hatched plots against Cicero. These being unsuccessful, he determined to hurry on the war, and sent Manlius to Faesulae in Etruria, and other conspirators to other advantageous situations; at the same time he plotted against the consuls' lives, made arrangements for firing the city, and posted armed men in different quarters of Rome. At a meeting of the conspirators he complained of Cicero's mischievous opposition, and a plot for assassinating Cicero in his own house was devised; which however was disconcerted through Cicero receiving an intimation of it from Fulvia. Cicero in alarm referred the whole matter to the senate, who at once invested the consuls with dictatorial power. A few days afterwards a letter was received announcing that Manlius had taken up arms in Etruria. One ex-consul was sent into Etruria, another into Apulia, while two praetors were sent elsewhere to collect forces; other measures of precaution and vigilance were adopted. There was the utmost panic in the city. Cicero then attacked Catiline in a speech in the senate; Catiline retorted with great violence, and, having abruptly left the house, set out from Rome that night to join Manlius, leaving Cethegus, Lentulus, and others to carry on the plot in Rome.*

[See Index for Lentulus.]

Ch. 26. § 1. *in proximum annum*: in with the accusative, when it refers to time, is usually best rendered by "for."

*ex voluntate*: "according to his will," "as he pleased."

§ 4. *proitione provinciae*: *provinciae* is an objective gen. (representing a direct object—*paciscor provinciam*). The senate having determined which were to be the consular provinces of a particular year, the consuls drew lots for them at the beginning of their year of office. In this case the two provinces were Gallia Cisalpina and Macedonia; Cicero obtained Macedonia, but as it was the wealthier province he handed it over to Antonius, hoping thus to secure his loyalty.

§ 5. *Catilinæ*: dative of advantage; *consulibus* is dative of disadvantage.

*in campo*: in the Campus Martius, outside the city walls on the north, where the consular elections were held.

Ch. 27. § 1. *Camertem* (*Camers*, -ertis, adj.): "of Camerinum," a town in the east of Umbria, a few miles from the frontier of Picenum.  
*alio*: adverb—"in one direction," "in another direction."

§ 2. *alios iubere*: sc. *cum telo esse* (an illegal practice).

§ 3. *agitanti*: sc. *Catilinæ*, dative of advantage.

*intempesta nocte*: lit. "in the night [at an] unseasonable [point]" (not "in an unseasonable night": cp. *summus mons*, not "the highest mountain" but "the mountain [at its] highest [point]"), hence "at a late hour of the night."

§ 4. *ibi*: "there," i.e. "at that meeting," the notion being supplied



from the verb *convocat*. This meeting really took place *after* the meeting of the senate mentioned in chap. 29, when full powers were bestowed upon the consuls.

*multa*: a neut. pl. acc. of extent, used adverbially. The sing. *multum* is more commonly thus used, as below in this section.

*qui*: equivalent to *ut ii* (final); hence followed by subjunctive.

*si obpressisset*: *lit.* "if he should have crushed." This represents Catiline as saying *si obpressero* (fut. perf.).

Ch. 28. § 1. *eques Romanus*: *sec equestri ordine*, ch. 17, § 4, n.

*post*: equivalent to *postea*, "afterwards," i.e. after the meeting in Laeca's house, which was held at a late hour of the night.

*salutatum*: with verbs of motion (here *introye*) the action which is regarded as the "goal" may be expressed by the supine in *-um*, really the accusative of a verbal noun of the 4th declension. For the accusative expressing the "goal" cp. *Romam ire*, "to go to Rome," *venum ire* (*venire*), "to go to sale," i.e. "to be sold." It was the regular practice of the clients of a great noble to pay a morning call at his house, thronging the vestibule till the doors were opened and they were permitted to go in and "salute" their patron with the words *Ave, domine*, "Hail, master!"

*domi suae*: locative. Of locative forms in use, *domi* alone is commonly used with an adjective in agreement, and with *domi* only possessive adjectives and *alienus* are found. Observe that *suae* here refers to the object, not the subject; *suis* can only be so employed when no ambiguity thereby arises.

§ 4. *plebem, latrones, non nullos*: all objects of *solicitare*.

*egestate, dolore* causal ablatives, explaining *cupidam*.

*iniuriae*: objective genitive, the corresponding verbal phrase being *dolere iniuriam*. *Iniuriae* is explained by the *quod*-clause following.

*dominatione*: causal abl., but best translated "under the despotism."

*Sullanis coloniis*: 120 000 of Sulla's veterans were settled by him on confiscated properties, especially in Etruria, where the partisans of Marius had been specially strong and had in consequence suffered under Sulla's rule.

*quibus*: dat. of disadvantage.

*reliqui*: cp. *reliqui*, ch. 20, § 13, n.

Ch. 29. § 1. *anopiti malo*: explained by the clauses *quod neque . . . poterat neque . . . habebat*.

*longius*: generally used of space or distance, here of time.

† *exagitatum*: this reading, if adopted, must be rendered "talked about," "discussed"; but as Sallust elsewhere uses *exagitare* in the sense of "to excite," some editors prefer to read *exagitatum*, referring to *senatum*.

§ 2. *solet*: sc. *feri*.

*darent*: jussive in semi-dependence on *decrevit*. The words of the decree would be *operam dent . . . ne . . . capiat*. This investing of

the consuls with supreme authority, unchecked by any right of appeal, was a device first resorted to (132 B.C.) by the political antagonists of Tiberius Gracchus; it took the place of the dictatorships of the earlier republic. The popular party always maintained that it was an unconstitutional proceeding.

§ 8. *maxima*: predicative.

*parare, gerere, coercere, habere*: these infinitives are all explanatory of *potestas*. The infinitive was originally a noun in the dative case, and the dative notion ("work contemplated") perhaps survives here: "power for raising an army," etc.

*populi iussu*: this would be given by a vote of the *Comitia Centuriata*.

*nullius*: objective genitive dependent on *ius* ("lawful right"), and itself followed by a partitive genitive, *eorum rerum*.

Ch. 30. § 1. *Faesus*: abl.—"from *Faesus*."

*ante diem sextum kalendas Novembris*: the regular phrase for *die sexto ante kalendas Novembris*, the ablative *die sexto* being changed to accusative, as if governed by *ante*. This would in English reckoning (see note on *nonas*, ch. 18, § 5) be the 5th day before the 1st (for *kalendas*, see ch. 17, § 1, n.) of November, i.e. the 27th of October. *Novembris* is an adjective agreeing with *kalendas*.

§ 2. *portari*: "were being conveyed," not "worn," which would be *ferri* or *geri*.

*servile bellum*: "an insurrection of slaves."

§ 3. *senati*: archaic form of the genitive for *senatus*.

*Creticus*: he was so called on account of his successful warfare in Crete during 68 and 67 B.C. He claimed a triumph, but was thwarted for a time (as here related) by the intrigues of Pompeius' partisans.

*missi*: sc. *sunt*.

§ 4. *ad urbem*: "near the city," because the general could not retain his *imperium* in the city, and in order to celebrate a triumph he was bound to be in possession of his *imperium*.

*triumpharent*: a general who had by his victories brought a campaign to a successful issue was allowed to enter Rome in state with his army, prisoners, and spoils, and to proceed to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

§ 5. *in agrum Picenum*: sc. *missi (sunt)*.

§ 6. *indicavisset*: the subjunctive reports a condition laid down at the time of the action of the main verb *decrevere*, which must be supplied from *utrumque decrevere* (§ 7). The pluperfect subjunctive, as often in clauses such as this (sometimes called virtually oblique), represents a future-perfect in the original decree: *si quis induxerit*, "if any one shall have given information."

*praemium*: in apposition to *libertatem et sestertia centum*, and also to *impunitatem et sestertia ducenta*.

*sestertia*: the *sestertius nummus* or *sestertius* was a silver coin, so

called from its having originally been equal to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *asses*, *sestertius* being contracted from *semis-tertius*, "a half (as) the third." Small as its value was (as bullion it was equal to little more than two-pence in English money), the *sestertius* served as the unit for reckoning even large sums. In expressing thousands of *sestertii* the word *milia* was omitted, and *sestertium* (the genitive plural of *sestertius*) being treated as neuter singular, a plural form *sestertia* was used with a numeral expressing the number of thousands; this numeral was usually a distributive, though here a cardinal (*centum*) is used. *Sestertia centum* is therefore equivalent to *centum milia sestertium*, 100,000 *sestertii*, or in English money £850; the purchasing power of money was, however, considerably greater then than it is now.

*ducenta*: after this word supply *decretere* from the next clause. Note the two constructions with *decerno*: (1) a single direct object in the accusative, with an indirect object in the dative; (2) an *ut* (*ut*) clause, which grammatically represents a direct object.

§ 7. *familiae*: the word *familia*, usually applied as a collective term to the slaves of a household, is here used of a company or troop of gladiators, who were collected and trained by speculative capitalists and let out for public shows. Expert in the use of arms and derived mostly from the slave population, they constituted a dangerous element in the state at times like these. The Servile War of 73-71 B.C., in which Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator, was the leader, originated in a gladiatorial school at Capua.

*municipia*: see *municipia*, ch. 17, § 4, *n*.

*minores magistratus*: probably referring to the quaestors, aediles, and triumviri nocturni ("fire-wardens").

Ch. 31. § 1. *quae*: acc. pl. neut., referring to the two abstract feminine nouns *laetitia* and *lascivia*.

*omnis*: acc. pl. masc., object of *invasit*.

§ 2. *cuiquam*: *quisquam* ("any one") usually stands alone as a pronoun; with a noun the pronominal adjective *ullus* ("any") is generally used.

§ 3. *magnitudine*: causal abl., explaining *involitus*.

*rogitare omnia*: "they repeatedly asked about everything." *Omnia* is an acc. of extent, or, as it is better called, an "internal" accusative.

*omnia pavere*: *paveo* is an example of a pretty numerous class of verbs which, naturally intransitive, become transitive by a slight stretch of the meaning. *Paveo*, "be in a panic," is intransitive; when it has the signification of "be in a panic at," i.e. "fear," it is transitive.

§ 4. *lege Plautia*: the *lex Plautia de vi*, introduced by M. Plautius Silvanus, tribune in 89 B.C., forbade individuals to carry arms in the city or collect armed forces, under pain of death or exile.

*interrogatus*: see *interrogati*, ch. 18, § 2, *n*. Strictly the *interrogatio* was done by the praetor; but Paulus is here introduced, because he was Catiline's accuser.

§ 5. *expurgandi*: probably gerund, with *sui*, which is the genitive of the reflexive pronoun *se*, dependent on it as an objective genitive.

*sicut*: here used like *quasi* or *tamquam si*, i.e. with a conditional sense not properly belonging to it—a usage almost, if not entirely, confined to Sallust.

§ 6. *scriptam edidit*: it forms the first of the four Orations *In Catilinam*.

§ 7. *ea . . . ita*: both lead up to and introduce *ut*.

*ortum*: sc. *case*. The acc. and inf. is due to the notion of saying contained in *postulare*.

*ne existimarent*: oblique command, representing the direct *ne existimaveritis*.

*plurima*: predic. te.

*perdita re publica*: "the state ruined" for "the ruin of the state"—the concrete for the abstract. For the case see *consulit*, ch. 1, § 6, n.

*inquillinus*: (cp. *incolo*, "I inhabit")—"sojourner," "alien"; the expression is inaccurate, for the natives of Arpinum had been full Roman citizens since 188 B.C.

§ 8. *parricidam*: this word, originally signifying (according to some authorities) "murderer of a father," came to be applied somewhat vaguely to any monstrous criminal.

Ch. 32. § 1. *curia*: the meeting-place of the senate, usually the Curia Hostilia (said to have been built by Tullus Hostilius), but on this occasion the temple of Jupiter Stator.

*domum*: used, like the names of towns and small islands, in the accusative without a preposition, to denote the goal of motion.

*neque . . . et*: *neque* is found when *et* follows, just as *-que . . . et* are used for "both . . . and."

*consuli*: a dat. of disadvantage going closely with *insidiae*—"plots against the consul."

*factu*: the supine; see *factu*, ch. 3, § 2, n.

*bello*: dative of indirect object, not ablative.

*usui*: predicative dative.

*nocte intempesta*: see ch. 27, § 3, n.

§ 2. *cognoverat*: "he had learnt," i.e. "he knew"; cp. *cognovi*, ch. 20, § 3.

*rebus*: instrumental abl.

*possint*: there is a *v.l. possent*; such a mixture of primary and historic sequence (*possent . . . confirmet*) is occasionally found where the principal verb (as *mandat* here) is in the historic present.

*confirmet*: oblique jussive (in oratio recta *confirmare*); *ut*, however, is generally inserted in the oblique form.

*prope diem*: "at an early day," "soon."

*accessurum*: sc. *esse*, the acc. and inf. being due to the notion of saying involved in *mandat*.

CHAPS. 33—39. *Meanwhile Manlius sends a message to Marcus*  
Sal. C.

**meis nominibus**: abl. of quality with *res alienum*—"debt contracted in my own name." *Res alienum* must be supplied with *alienis nominibus*.

**persolveret**: "would have paid"—the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is suppressed.

§ 4. **hoo nomine**: abl. of cause—"under this name, heading, or account," the metaphor being taken from book-keeping (cp. *meis nominibus* above, and our own "on this account"). Translate "therefore."

§ 6. **defendas**: the jussive or hortative subjunctive, unusual with the 2nd person (the imperative or a periphrasis is preferred), but common with the 3rd person and the 1st person plural. *Defendas* is less precatory than *defendi*.

**per**: "by" or "for the sake of"; *per* is regularly used in adjurations.

Ch. 36. § 1 **fascibus**: "rods"; see ch. 18, § 5, n.

**aliis insignibus**: viz. the gown with the purple border (*toga praetexta*) and the general's cloak (*paludamentum*); also the chair of state (*sedes curulis*).

§ 2. **sine fraude**: "without loss or harm"—an old legal phrase.

**capitalium**: "capital"—i.e. involving a man's *caput* or civil status.

**condemnatis**: dependent on *luceret*, *praeter* being adverbial—"a day before which it should be permitted . . . excepting to those found guilty."

§ 4. **perditum**: supine; see *salutatum*, ch. 28, § 1, n.

§ 5. **duobus decretis**: abl. of attendant circumstances, with a concessive force—"in spite of . . .". For the form *senati* see ch. 30, § 3, n.

Ch. 37. § 1. **illis**: dat. of person interested, almost equivalent to *illorum*.

**aliens**: "infatuated."

**studio**: causal abl., to be taken with *novarum rerum*.

§ 2. **adeo**: *hinc*, as often, used to emphasise, without intensifying, the preceding word. *Id* refers to *Catilineae incepta probabat*.

**videbatur**: the subject is *plebes*, understood from the preceding sentence.

§ 3. **quibus**: as an antecedent, *ei*, which represents the subject of *invidet* and the five following verbs, must be supplied.

§ 4. **ea vero**: introduced pleonastically (i.e. beyond the requirements of the construction), in apposition to *plebes*.

§ 6. **regio . . . cultu**: abl. of manner.

**foret**: the subjunctive expresses a condition laid down at the time of the action of the main verb *sperabat*, the men being represented as saying *si in armis ero, talia mihi erunt*.

§ 7. **privatis . . . largitionibus**: the bounties of private individuals referred to were the doles of corn and other provisions made by wealthy nobles to their dependants; the state bounties were distri-

butions of corn at a low price to citizens at Rome, first introduced by Gaius Gracchus in 123 B.C.

§ 8. *quo*: "wherefore."

*moribus* . . . *spe*: ablatives of quality.

§ 9. *quorum*: the unexpressed antecedent (*ei*) is the subject of *expectabant*.

*ius* . . . *inimicum*: the descendants of the proscribed were by a Lex Cornelia (81 B.C.) prevented from holding office, but it does not appear that they were in any way deprived of their "liberty."

§ 10. *aliarum* . . . *partium*: predicative gen. Observe the use of *alius atque* in the sense of "other than." *Senatus* is genitive. *Partes* (plural) = "a party."

*conturbari* . . . *ipsi*: note the construction of acc. with inf. where the subject of the infinitive is different from that of the finite verb (*malebant*).

§ 11. *id adeo*: see § 2, *n*.

*multos post annos*: eleven or twelve years. Sulla, in his *Leges Corneliae* (81-79 B.C.), deprived the tribunate of its chief powers; these were, however, restored by Pompeius and Crassus in 70. The *malum* in question is the ill-feeling manifested towards the senate by the popular party.

Ch. 38. § 1. *Cn.* . . . *consulibus*: see ch. 17, § 1, *n*.

*summam potestatem*: viz. the tribunate.

*ferox*: *ferox* signifies "high-spirited," and so commonly either "proud" or "brave"; it seldom means "fierce."

§ 2. *senatus specie*: "under pretext (of contending for the power) of the senate"; *senatus* depends on *pro magnitudine* understood.

*pre*: "on behalf of," "with a view to."

§ 3. *paucis*: "in a few words."

*honestis nominibus*: *nominibus* refers to the way in which they named or described their aims, as the following clauses explain.

*sicuti*: "as if"; a conditional clause with no expressed apodosis.

*quo*: *quo* is regularly used for final *ut* where the final clause contains a comparative; here it is so used with a superlative (*maxima*).

*quisque*: in partitive apposition to the unexpressed antecedent of *quicumque*. It is, as usual, followed by a plural verb (*certabant*); contrast the unusual singular *sperabat* in ch. 37, § 6.

§ 4. *contentionis*: this genitive is to be taken with *modestia* as well as with *modus*.

Ch. 39. § 1. *bellum maritimum*: "the maritime war" was the war against the pirates of Cilicia, in Asia Minor, who crippled the trade of the Mediterranean; an extraordinary command was conferred by the *Lex Gabinia* (67 B.C.) on Pompeius, in order to crush them.

*Mithridaticum*: by the *Lex Manilia* (66 B.C.) the command against Mithridates, king of Pontus, was conferred upon Pompeius.

§ 2. *innoxii*: used passively—"not injured."

*magistratu*: the tribunate, which however was not, strictly speaking, a magistracy.

§ 3. *dubils rebus*: abl. of attendant circumstances.

*eorum*: referring to the popular party.

§ 4. *obpressisset*: for *obprimere* meaning "to overwhelm" see *obprimundae*, ch. 16, § 4, n.

*quin*: lit. "so that not . . ." best rendered in English by "without" and a verbal in "-ing"; here "without (some one who . . .) wresting power and even freedom from them."

*defessis*: dative, as is usual with verbs of "taking away" (*extorqueret*), really a dat. of the indirect object.

*qui plus posset*: some military commander, such as Pompeius or Caesar. *Posset* is subjunctive, because the reference in *qui* is not to a definite individual, but to any one fulfilling the condition of "being stronger."

§ 5. *necari*: the *patria potestas* permitted, among other things, the putting to death of a son by his father, but this right had long been obsolete.

§ 6. *novis rebus*: "revolution," lit. "new things"; ep. *novandi* (§ 3), "of effecting a revolution." The case is dative, regular after adjectives denoting fitness or preparedness.

*genus hominum*: these words go closely together, and are practically equivalent to *homines*, and the genitive of quality, *cuiusque modi*, is dependent on this idea.

*bello usui*: see *bello usui*, ch. 32, § 1, n.

*foret*: subjunctive, because *quod modo* is equivalent to *dummodo id*, "provided only they . . ." (*id* referring to *genus*).

CHAPS. 40—45. *The plot is communicated to the ambassadors of the Allobroges, who had come to Rome to make some complaint about the provincial government, and who now promised their help to the conspirators in return for a promise of help in the matter of their embassy. The Allobroges, however, reveal the whole matter to Cicero. A scheme for firing the city and murdering the consuls fails. The Allobroges, by the advice of Cicero, obtain from the conspirators at Rome a signed and sealed agreement to show to their countrymen at home. Volturcius is sent to escort the ambassadors to Catiline on their way to Gaul, carrying with him a letter from Lentulus to Catiline. The whole party are, at Cicero's bidding, arrested by the praetors while leaving the city.*

Ch. 40. § 1. *Allobrogum*: the Allobroges were a Gaulish tribe between the Rhone and Isère, they had been subject to the Romans for sixty years, and, having suffered from the rapacity of provincial governors, had now sent to complain to the senate of their distressed condition. Their territory (the modern Dauphiné and Savoy) was included in the Provincia Narbonensis, which stretched from the Maritime Alps to the Pyrenees.

**esse**: subjunctive, as being in a clause dependent on the accusative and infinitive *eos posse*.

§ 2. **negotiatu**: the *negotiatores* (Roman merchants and speculators) were usually money-lenders who, by usury and extortion, which were connived at by the governors, made large fortunes at the expense of the provincials.

**civitatu**: according to rule imparisyllabic substantives (unless the base ends in two consonants) have genitive plural in *-um*, but the ending *-ium* is occasionally found with nouns whose base ends in *tāt*, e.g. *actas, actāt-is*, has gen. pl. *actatum* or *actatium*.

**tantis malis**: dative, *exitus* being translated as "termination" — "what termination they expected to such misfortunes."

§ 3. **auxili nihil**: "nothing of help," i.e. "no help."

§ 4. **sui**: "them"; in final clauses the reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the principal sentence.

**nihil . . . esse**: supply "they said" from *orare*.

**quod**: consecutive (= *ut id*), hence followed by the subjunctive.

**dum**: "provided that"; see note on *dum*, ch. 5, § 6.

§ 5. **in domum**: it is said that the preposition *in* is used when *domum* means "house" rather than "home."

**neque aliena consili**: "and not unsuitable (i.e. convenient) for consultation"; the genitive is here used instead of the ablative, an imitation of Greek usage not uncommon in Horace, e.g. *patriae exsul*, "an exile from his country."

**ab Roma**: a preposition is used, even with names of towns, when distance from a place, not motion from it, is expressed.

Ch. 41. § 1. **consili**: cp. *auxili*, ch. 40, § 3.

**capere**: deliberative—"what plan they should adopt." The alternatives are then stated. *in altera parte . . . at in altera*.

§ 4. **patrocinio**: the relation subsisting between a Roman noble (as *patronus*) and a *cliens* might also subsist between a Roman noble and a subject state.

§ 5. **coniurationis**: objective gen.—"zeal for the conspiracy."

Ch. 42. § 1. **Gallia citeriore**: i.e. Gallia Cisalpina, the Gaul "on this side" or south of the Alps, and bounded on the south by Etruria and Umbria. What we generally understand by Gaul was properly called Gallia ultior or Transalpina.

**in agro Piceno—Bruttio—Apulia**: the three districts are enumerated without any conjunction being employed; this construction is known as asyndeton.

§ 3. **legatus**: a *legatus* was properly the official assistant and deputy of a general or of the governor of a province; in this case Murena seems to have been left in command by the senate on the withdrawal of the governor.

Ch. 43. § 1. **constituerant**: note the plural adapted to the sense and not to the form of *Latulus cum ceteris*; such a construction is known as synesis.



**Faesculanum**: this is probably a mistake on Sallust's part, as it is inconsistent with ch. 36, § 1.

§ 2. **aliun**: sc. *interpretet*.

**fili familiarum**: *pater familias* has plural *patres familias* or *patres familiarum*; the same variety occurs in the plural of *mater familias* and *filia familias*.

§ 3. **facto opus esse**: cp. *consulto*, ch. 1, § 6, n.

§ 4. **ferox**: see ch. 38, § 1, n.

**in celeritate**: sc. *esse*.

**Ch. 44. § 1. eos . . . posse**: the acc. and inf. construction depends on the notion of saying implied in *postulant*.

§ 2. **eo**: "thither," i.e. to Gaul.

§ 3. **Crotoniensem**: an inhabitant of Crotōna, a Greek colony on the east coast of Bruttium.

§ 5. **† qui sim**: "who I am." This is probably the correct reading, though the rule is that *quis* is used substantively.

**fac cogites**: *lit.* "bring it to pass that you consider." *Cogites* is jussive subjunctive in semi-dependence on *fac*.

**consideres**: the use of the second person present subjunctive in commands is not to be imitated; see note on *defendat*, ch. 35, § 6.

**rationes**: "affairs."

§ 6. **servitia**: "the slave class"; cp. ch. 24, § 4, n.

**Ch. 45. § 1. cuncta**: "internal" accusative, also called "retained" accusative, because in the active *edocet* takes two accusatives, and *retains* one when used in the passive.

**ponte Mulvio**: the Mulvian bridge crossed the Tiber two miles north of Rome.

**uti facto opus sit**: *uti* here means "as," and the verb (*sit*) is subjunctive by attraction to the mood of the verb (*agant*) on which the clause depends.

**ita agant permittit**: cp. *mandat* . . . *confirmat* in ch. 32, § 2, the subjunctive being jussive in semi-dependence.

§ 3. **ad id loci**: *lit.* "to that point of locality," *loci* being a partitive genitive.

§ 4. **multa**: acc. of extent or adverbial acc., qualifying *obtestatus*.

**quod . . . erat**: if this were given as the reason which Volturcius alleged for his entreaties, the verb would be *esset*.

**vitas**: genitive of the remoter object, corresponding to *diffidere de vita*.

**dedit**: pres. indic. of *dedere*.

CHAPS. 46—52. *Cicero having assembled the senate in the Temple of Concord introduces the apprehended conspirators, including the Allobroges. They are examined, and five are kept in custody. The fickle mob are filled with joy. Crassus is implicated by the evidence of one Targunius, who had been arrested; but the senate decide that*

the evidence is to be rejected. Cicero declines to forge evidence implicating Caesar, who however is menaced with violence at the door of the senate on the assumption of his complicity in the plot. Cicero, fearing lest the prisoners should be rescued, assembles the senate to decide what is to be done with them. D. Junius Silanus, the consul-elect, proposes that they should be put to death. Caesar argues at length against this proposal, and suggests that they be kept in custody in the strongest towns and their property be confiscated. Cato, on the other hand, urges extreme measures as a necessary safeguard in view of the imminent peril of the state.

[See Index for Caesar, Cato, Cinna, Samnites, Tusc.]

Ch. 46. § 2. *occupavere*: *occupare* does not mean "be in possession of," but "take possession of."

*periculis*: for the dative with words of "taking away" see note on *defensus*, ch. 39, § 4.

*quid facto opus esset*: "what it was necessary to do"; the phrase is a common one and the meaning clear, though the use of *quid* is not strictly logical.

*perdundae rei publicae*: genitive of quality; see *conservandas libertatis*, ch. 6, § 7, n.

§ 3. *Terracinensem*: "a native of Terracina," a town (at an earlier period called Anxur) in the south of Latium on the Via Appia, and two miles from the coast.

§ 5. *quod praetor erat*: and therefore worthy of additional respect.

*aedem Concordiae*: the Temple of Concord, built by Camillus in 366 B.C. in memory of the reconciliation effected by him between the patricians and plebeians, was situated between the Capitol and the Forum.

§ 6. *eo*: like *eodem* below, an adverb.

*magna frequentia*: abl. of attendant circumstances.

Ch. 47. § 1. *consili*: partitive genitive dependent on *quid*; with *qua de causa* may be supplied *id consili*.

*alia*: used in anticipation of the following sentence (*omnia aperit docetque . . .*)—"other things" than what he subsequently confessed.

*fide publica*: i.e. under a guarantee of impunity given in the name of the state.

*paucis ante diebus*: lit. "before by a few days"; *ante* is here an adverb, and the ablative is one of measure.

*solitum*: i.e. *ex solitum case*.

§ 2. *libris Sibyllinis*: these were prophetic books said to have been bought from a Sibyl (i.e. prophetess) by Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, or, according to others, by Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh king; they were entrusted to the care of a special commission, and consulted only in serious political emergencies.

*antea*: sc. *fuisse*.

*urbis*: *potior* is usually followed by the ablative, though the genitive is (as here) occasionally found.

*incenso Capitolio*: the temple of Capitoline Jupiter was burnt in 83 B.C. For the construction see *perdita re publica* in ch. 31, § 7, n. *belle civili*: causal abl.

§ 3. *abdicate magistratu*: this is the passive of the phrase *abdicare magistratum*, which is common in the historians. The more usual phrase is *abdicare se magistratu*. According to the letter of the constitution a magistrate could not be deposed by the senate, but he might be asked to abdicate.

*liberis custodiis*: this signifies that they were not confined in one of the state prisons, but placed under the care of magistrates or other citizens in private houses.

Ch. 48. § 1. *ex servitute erepta*: note the variation from the construction in *periculis ereptam*, ch. 46, § 2.

§ 2. *facinora* . . . *fore*: acc. and inf. dependent on *putabat*; *fore* represents *erunt* in direct speech.

*quippe cui*: "inasmuch as to it," i.e. the common people. As they possessed only their clothing and articles that were in daily use, they would lose their all in a fire.

*erant*: in Cicero *quippe qui* is followed by the subjunctive, but in Sallust by the indicative.

§ 3. *post eum diem*: "on the following day."

§ 4. *qui* . . . *nuntiaret*: final subjunctive.

*Lentulus* . . . *deprehensi*: "the arrest of Lentulus," etc.; cp. *incenso Capitolio*, ch. 47, § 2.

*eo*: ablative of measure; *eo magis*—"by that [amount] the more."

*properaret*: *ut* must be supplied (from *ne* in the preceding clause) before this verb, of which the subject is *Catilina*.

*quo*: *quo* is here a final conjunction—"in order that."

*ex periculo*: see *ex servitute*, § 1, n.

§ 5. *tanta vis hominis*: "so powerful a man"; cp. *scriptorum magna ingenia*, ch. 8, § 3, n.

*referatur*: sc. *ad senatum*. Cp. *rem ad senatum refert*, ch. 29, § 1.

§ 6. *consulente*: *consulere* is used of laying a question before the senate for its decision—"putting it to the vote."

*potestatem*: sc. *indicandi de coniuratione*.

*tantam rem*: this is an "internal" accusative or accusative of extent.

§ 7. *existumarent*. the subjunctive is consecutive, and the antecedent of *qui* is indefinite; cp. *crederent*, ch. 17, § 7, n.

*machinatum*: the perf. part. of a deponent verb used passively; cp. *adepta*, ch. 7, § 3, n.

*periculi*: objective gen.—cp. *provinciae*, ch. 26, § 4, n.

*illius*: referring to Crassus.

*potentia*: either nominative (subject of *tigeret*), or an instrumental abl.; in the latter case the subject of *tigeret* is Autronius.

Ch. 49. § 2. *exarcebant*: note the use of a plural verb after *uterque*; this is rare in the best prose.

*pecuniarum repetundarum*: though generally meaning "extortion" (cp. ch. 18, § 3, n.) *res repetundae* often meant taking bribes, or other misappropriation of justice in a province.

*Transpadani*: provincials inhabiting the district across (i.e. on the side remote from Rome) the Padus (the modern Po), a river in the north of Italy, rising in the Alps, dividing Gallia Cisalpina into Gallia Cispadana and Gallia Transpadana, and falling by several mouths into the Adriatic.

*pontificatus*: the office of Pontifex Maximus.

*extrema aetate*: abl. of quality.

*adulescentulo*: at this time (the early part of 63 B.C.) Caesar was 38. A man might be called *adolescens* even to the age of 45.

§ 3. *privatim* . . . *publice*: to be taken with *liberalitate* and *muneribus* respectively, and not with *debebat*. *Muneribus* refers to the magnificence of the public games which he exhibited as aedile in 65 B.C.

§ 4. *quae se audisse dicerent*: this is a confusion of two constructions: (1) *quae audissent*, in which the subjunctive is one of "reported definition"—"which (as they said) they had heard"; and (2) *quae se audisse dicebant*, "which they said they had heard."

*illi*: i.e. *Caesari*.

*aedem Concordiae*: see ch. 46, § 5, n.

Ch. 50. § 1. *liberti*: the term *libertus* is applied to a freedman in reference to his former master, *libertinus* in reference to his social or political standing.

*duces multitudinum*: such as Clodius and Milo, who at the head of gangs of roughs and gladiators ten years later intimidated the citizens at elections and filled the city with disturbance and bloodshed.

§ 2. *familiam*: "household," i.e. his slaves.

§ 3. *refert*: the full phrase is *ad senatum refert*. *Quid . . . placeat* is a dependent question, the clause standing as object to *refert*.

§ 4. *de eis*: to be taken with *supplicium sumendum*, not with *sententiam rogatus*.

*si deprehensi forent*: the pluperfect subjunctive represents a future-perfect indicative in Silius' own words.

*pedibus iturum*: *pedibus ire in sententiam alicuius* is literally "to go on foot into (i.e. to join) the opinion of some one," and so "to support a motion," which a senator did by literally going and taking his place by the speaker whose opinion he favoured.

Ch. 51. § 1. *patres conscripti*: in origin this phrase meant either "the enrolled patricians" or "the patricians and those enrolled" (= *patres et conscripti*). In support of the second Livy states that under the last of the kings the senate, whose full complement was three hundred, had been reduced to less than two hundred, and that

upon the institution of the republic the gaps in the senate were filled up from the wealthier plebeians, who were then called *conscripti*, in distinction from the original *patres*.

§ 4. *ordine* : one of the small number of modal ablatives that can be used without a qualifying adjective or *cum*.

§ 5. *Perse* : abl. of Perseus, otherwise called Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, with whom the Third Macedonian War was fought, beginning in 171 B.C. and ending in the defeat of Perseus by L. Aemilius Paulus at the battle of Pydna (168), after which Macedonia was divided into four separate republics, prohibited from all connubial and commercial relations with one another.

*Rhodorum civitas* : Rhodes, the most easterly island of the Aegean and the greatest maritime state of the East, had made an alliance with Rome in the Second Macedonian War (200-196), had helped the Romans with ships in the Syrian War against Antiochus (191-190), and had been rewarded with a present of the southern part of Caria. In the Third Macedonian War the Rhodians offended Roman vanity by offering to mediate between Rome and Perseus; in revenge the Romans deprived them of Lycia and Caria, and crippled their commerce by opening Delos as a free port under Roman protection; *impunitus* is therefore an exaggeration.

§ 6. *bellis Punicis* : the Punic Wars, or wars with Carthage (*Punicus* is the adj. from *Poenus*, "a Phoenician," a term applied by the Romans to the Carthaginians, who were a Phoenician colony), were three in number. After the first (261-242) the Carthaginians were punished with a heavy fine and the loss of Sicily; after the second (218-201) they were stripped of all their possessions except Carthage itself, and were forbidden to make war without the consent of Rome; after the third (149-146) Carthage was completely destroyed.

§ 7. *vobis* : the dative of the agent is regularly found with the gerund and gerundive; here *providendum* is gerundive.

§ 8. *utendum* : sc. *esse*.

§ 9. *conlubiissent* : a neuter pronoun sometimes stands as subject to an impersonal verb; usually the pronoun is singular, though here plural.

§ 10. *an* : *an* always introduces the second alternative in a double question; where, as here, it appears to introduce a single question, there is an ellipsis of a first alternative. In this usage *an* indicates indignation or surprise.

*scilicet* : see ch. 16, § 3, n.

§ 11. *iniuriarum suarum* : "the wrongs done to himself." *Suas* represents an objective genitive.

*aequo* : abl. of the standard of comparison—"than is right."

*habuere* : a gnomic perfect, i.e. a perfect used to denote what often or usually happens.

§ 12. *quid* : acc. of extent—"in any respect."

*iracundia* : causal abl.

§ 14. *quarum* : attracted to the gender of *iracundia*. See *ea*, ch. 20, § 4, n.

§ 15. *equidem*: an emphatic form of *quidem*, and not a contraction of *ego quidem*, as is proved by the fact that it is here followed by *ego*, and also by the fact of its being found with the 2nd and 3rd persons.

*minores quam*: "too little for."

*in*: "in the case of."

§ 16. *eos, eam*: "such"; both are predicative, not attributive, and "to be" must be added in English.

§ 18. *iniuria*: "the sense of wrong," i.e. "resentment."

*decernere*: the infinitive after *subigo* is rare, the usual construction being *ut* with the subjunctive or *ad* with the acc.

§ 20. *aerumnarum*: objective genitive, corresponding to a prepositional phrase (*requiescere ab aerumnis*).

§ 21. *addidisti*: the object of this verb is the clause *uti . . . animadverteretur*.

*animadverteretur*: impersonal. *Animadvertere in aliquem* = "to turn one's attention to a person," i.e. "to punish him."

§ 22. *an*: see *an*, § 10, n.

*lex Porcia*: a *lex Porcia*, passed about a century before this date, re-enacted the *leges Valeriae*, which made it a penal offence for a magistrate to scourge or put to death a Roman citizen.

*civibus*: dative, going with both *eripi* and *permittere*.

*exilium*: the sentence, which practically amounted to banishment, consisted in prohibiting a man from the use of fire and water (*interdicere alicui aqua et igni*).

§ 23. *tanti facinoris*: the genitive is regularly used with words of *accusing* or *condemning* to denote the crime.

§ 24. *qui*: "how"—an old ablative of *qui* used as an adverb.

*neglexeris*: (perf. subj.) for *neglexeris*, an irregularity found in only one other place in Sallust, and in no other classical writer.

§ 25. *at enim*: *enim* introduces the reason for the objection implied in *at*—"But" (someone will say, 'you are wrong'), for who will find fault . . . ?"

*tempus dies fortuna*: sc. *reprehendat*. This is Caesar's reply to the imaginary objector. *Tempus* = "circumstances"; *dies* = "lapse of time."

*gentibus*: the accusative would be more regular. *Moderor* usually governs the dative when it signifies "temper," "moderate"; but the accusative when it signifies "rule," "govern."

§ 26. *patres conscripti*: see § 1, n.

§ 28. *devotis Atheniensibus*: ablative of attendant circumstances (abl. abs.). After the termination of the Peloponnesian War by the fall of Athens in 404 B.C., the Spartans maintained there an arbitrary and most oppressive government, known as that of the "Thirty Tyrants," which lasted for eight months.

§ 29. *ea*: *laetor* is an intransitive verb, but by a stretch of the conception here governs a direct object, and has the meaning "to rejoice over." So *dolere casum* (Cicero), "to grieve over a misfortune"; but such usages are more common in poetry than in prose.

§ 32. *Damasippum* : L. Junius Brutus Damasippus had massacred a number of the Sullan faction in Rome, and consequently on being taken prisoner at the battle of the Colline Gate (82 B.C.) he was put to death.

§ 35. *in* : "in the case of" ; cp. § 13. *n*.

§ 36. *illi* : to be taken with both *finem statuet* and *moderabitur*.

§ 38. *imitari* : supply *bona* from *bonis*.

§ 39. *verberitus* : there seems to be no authority for the statement that the flogging of criminals was a practice derived from the Greeks, though Sallust's opinion was probably shared by the antiquaries of the time.

§ 40. *circumveniri, fieri* : in Cicero or Caesar we should have with these passive infinitives the passive form of *coepere*, viz. *conepita sunt*. In Sallust the active is found here, in ch. 12, § 1 (*duci coepit*), and a few other places.

§ 41. *quo minus* : *lit.* "whereby (we should) the less adopt a new policy" : best rendered "for not adopting," etc.

§ 43. *municipia* : see ch. 17, § 4, *n*.

*neu quis* : this and the following clauses are in oratio obliqua dependent on *ita censeo* ; the oratio recta would be *neu quis . . . referat neve . . . agat* (direct jussive) ; *qui aliter fecerit, senatus existumat*, etc. *Fecerit* in the text is perfect subjunctive.

*cum populo* : i.e. in the Comitia.

Ch. 52. § 1. *verbo* : instrumental abl.

§ 3. *cavere* : the use with verbs of exhorting etc., of the infinitive instead of *ut* and the subjunctive is found occasionally in Sallust and other historians, but it must not be imitated in turning English into Latin.

§ 4. *persequare* : potential subjunctive—"you would chastise (if occasion were to arise)" ; so too *implere*, below.

§ 5. *pluris* : as explained in the note on *parvi* (ch. 12, § 2), certain adjectives are used in the locative to express the value at which a thing is held ; the locatives having been mistaken for genitives, the real genitives *pluris* and *minoris* were similarly used to signify "at a higher value," "at a lower value." *Facere* is commonly employed (as here) in the sense of "to esteem" ; cp. the English expression "to make much of."

§ 6. *vestigalibus* : from the neut. noun *vestigal* (cp. *vestigales*, ch. 20, § 7, *n*).

*sociorum* : objective genitive—"wrongs inflicted on our allies."

*anima* : see ch. 20, § 13, *n*.

§ 7. *in hoo ordine* : i.e. in the Senate, or (as we should say) "in this House." Cp. ch. 46, § 6.

§ 8. *qui . . . fecissem* : causal—"inasmuch as I had done."

§ 10. *vivamus* : dependent deliberative subjunctive—"whether we are to live" ; so *sit* and *sint*, below.

§ 11. *hic* : the adverb—"at this point," or "under these conditions."

**equidem** : with *amissimus*; see ch. 51, § 15, n.

**eo** : *causae* abl.—“for that reason.”

§ 12. **sint** : jussive.

**in** : “in the case of.”

**arari** : objective genitive, representing a prepositional phrase (*furari ex arario*).

**perditum** : supine.

§ 13. **composite** : “skilfully”; properly “in an orderly and regular manner.”

**oredo** : parenthetical.

§ 14. **videlicet** : “evidently”; properly “it is permitted you (*liet*) to see (*videre*).”

**popularibus** : “abettors”; cp. ch. 22, § 1, n.

§ 15. **quasi** . . . **sint** : “as if there were”—implying that the contrary is true.

§ 23. **hic** : i.e. in the Senate.

§ 24. **incendere** : the regular construction with *coniurare* is *ut* with the subjunctive; the infinitive is first found in Sallust, then in Horace and Livy.

§ 25. **hostibus** : may be either dative of the indirect object or instrumental ablative; both constructions are found. Translate: “what you should do *with* enemies.”

§ 26. **misereamini** : jussive subjunctive in semi-dependence on *censeo*. The advice is of course ironical.

§ 27. **ne** . . . **convortat** : direct prohibition, not a final clause.

**vobis** : dative of disadvantage.

§ 28. **inertia**, **mollitia** : causal ablatives.

§ 29. **tradideris** : perfect subjunctive; a primary tense of the subjunctive is regularly used after *ubi* when the verb is (as here) in the second person singular with indefinite meaning.

**inploro** : potential subjunctive, the second person singular being here, as often, used indefinitely.

§ 30. **Torquatus** : for the story see the note on *contra imperium*, ch. 9, § 4.

**bello Gallico** : a mistake for *bello Latino*.

§ 31. **immoderatae fortitudinis** : possessive genitive dependent on *poenas*.

**videlicet** : ironical.

**obstat** : either “stands in the way of,” i.e. “prevents the suspicion of,” or “stands over against,” i.e. “is a compensation for.”

§ 34. **quid** : “why.”

**peni** : partitive genitive dependent on *quicquam*, and meaning “principle,” “conscientious scruples”; cp. ch. 12, § 2, n.

§ 35. **mehercule** : shortened for *me Hercules iuvet*, “may Hercules help me.”

**faucibus** : an irregular local ablative, unaccompanied by a preposition.

**arget** : sc. *nos*.

**consuli** : *consulere aliquid* = “to consider a course of action”;



hence the meaning of the passive here is "no course of action can be considered."

quo: "wherefore."

§ 36. *rerum capitalium*: a genitive of the charge dependent on *manifestis*, "convicted in the act."

CHAPS. 53—61. *Cato's resolution is adopted. (A digression follows on the subject of Rome's debt to her great men. Her great men at this time were Cato and Caesar, who were alike in several respects, but in others totally different.) The conspirators are executed. Catiline hearing of this endeavours to escape to Gaul, but finding his flight cut off by Metellus in the north, he resolves to fight with the army under Antonius which is close behind him. The generals on both sides address their men. In the bloody and obstinate battle that follows the insurgent army is defeated and Catiline slain.*

[See Index for Marius and Petreius.]

Ch. 53. § 1. *senati*: archaic form of the genitive, which is usually *senatûs*.

§ 2. *attendere* (sc. *animum*—"direct the attention"): used transitively, the object being the indirect question *quæ . . . sustinuisset*.

§ 3. *saepe numero*: "oftentimes"—also written as one word, *sæpenumero*.

*contendisse*: the subject is *populum Romanum* understood from the preceding sentence.

§ 4. *eo*: instrumental abl.—"by that means."

§ 6. *virtute, moribus*: ablatives of quality.

*quin . . . aperirem*: translate—"without making clear"; cp. ch. 39, § 4, n.

Ch. 54. § 1. *aequalia*: see *optanda*, ch. 10, § 2, n.

*alia alii*: *alia* is nom. sing. fem. referring to *gloria*; *alii* is dative singular, used instead of *alteri* in order to correspond with *alia*, although properly speaking *alter* means "one of two," *alius* "one of more than two."

§ 2. *factus*: sc. *ent*.

§ 4. *in animum induxerat*: the infinitives *laborare, vigilare* stand as objects to *induxerat*—lit. "he had brought toiling and watching into his intention."

*neglegere, denegare*: historic infinitives.

*ubi . . . posset*: final subjunctive, *ubi* being rendered "in order that . . . in it" (= *ut ibi*).

§ 6. *divitiis, factione*, etc.: ablatives of the thing in point of which.

Ch. 55. § 1. *in Catonis sententiam discessit*: i.e. "voted for Cato's motion"; see *pedibus iturum*, ch. 50, § 4, n.

† *triumvires* : this plural is formed direct from the singular *triumvir*, which signifies "one man out of three"; a more logically accurate form, *tresvires*, is adopted by some editors. These *triumviri capitales* or *nocturni* had the superintendence of prisons and executions, and provided for the safety of the public streets during the night-time. They formed one class of the *minores magistratus* of ch. 30, § 7 (see note).

§ 2. *carcerem* : the Roman state-prison, called Carcer Mamertinus, stood at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, exactly opposite the Temple of Concord. It was said to have been built by Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, but the horrible underground dungeon in the prison, which Sallust here mentions, is ascribed to the sixth king, Servius Tullius, and called the *Tullianum* (sc. *robur*, a strong place or prison).

§ 3. *quod* : notice the attraction of the relative to the gender of the predicate in its own clause.

*laevam* : sc. *manum*.

*pedes* : acc. of extent of space.

*humi* : locative, "in the ground."

§ 4. *parietes* and *camera* : both are subjects of *muniant*.

§ 5. *vindices* : lit. "punishers," i.e. here "executioners."

§ 6. *exitium* : either, as ordinarily, "destruction," or (the older meaning, in which it was superseded by *exilus*) "exit," "egress," "end."

Ch. 56. § 1. *cohortis* : the legion at its greatest strength consisted of about six thousand men, and was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each manipulus into two centuries.

*pro numero* : "according to the number." The meaning is that Catiline had not men enough at first to make up the full strength, and so divided his troops equally among the cohorts.

§ 4. *versus* : preposition governing *Galliam*.

*prope diem* : "at an early date," "soon"; cp. ch. 32, § 2, n.

§ 5. *cuius* : the irregularity of the singular relative, referring to a plural antecedent (*servitia*), is due to *servitia* denoting a single class. This may be regarded as an example of Sallust's colloquial style.

*suis rationibus* : abl. of separation. *A* or *ab* with the abl. is also used after *alienus*.

*videri* : sc. *se*, as subject of *videri*.

Ch. 57. § 1. *Pistoriensem* : Pistoria (now *Pistoia*) is in the extreme north of Etruria, about twenty miles N.W. of *Faesulae*.

§ 2. *illa* : the object of *agitare*, *Catilinam* being the subject.

§ 4. *utpote qui* : "inasmuch as he," "seeing that he."

† *expeditus* : the reading of the best MSS. is *expeditus*, but this yields no sense. A further conjecture is to supply *impeditus* after *expeditus*.

Ch. 58. § 1. *compartum habeo*: lit. "I have as a found-out thing."

§ 2. *animo*: with *inest*, which like all other compounds of *sum* (except *possum*) takes the dative.

*natura aut moribus*: ablatives of cause. *Moribus* signifies "character acquired by habit."

*hortere*: potential subjunctive, i.e. the subjunctive of a verb in the apodosis of a conditional sentence the protasis of which is understood—"you would, were occasion to arise, exhort."

§ 3. *quo*: "in order that."

*advocavi*: this is the historic perfect ("I summoned"), as is shown by the sequence *monerem* and *aperirem*.

§ 4. *attulerit*: the singular is used because *discordia atque ignavia* forms a single idea.

*quoque*: i.e. *et quo*.

§ 6. *unus* = *alter*.

*ab*: signifying direction—"on the side of."

*esse*: direct object of *prohibet*; this is another example of Sallust's use of the infinitive instead of the subjunctive introduced by a conjunction, which in this case would be *ne* or *quominus*.

*ferat*: ec. *nos ad id*.

*prohibet*: after *ferat* in the protasis we ought to have *prohibeat* in the apodosis. The indicative is due to the desire for vividness and emphasis.

§ 8. *qua propter*: "wherefore"—generally written as one word, *quapropter*.

§ 9. *vinimus*: the fut. perf. *vicerimus* (like *cesserimus* below) would have been expected. The present is used for vividness.

*municipia atque colonias*: "free towns and Roman colonies"; see ch. 17, § 4, n.

§ 10. *quisquam*: here adjectival; usually *quisquam* is substantival, *ullus* adjectival.

§ 12. † *aggrediamini*: jussive subjunctive; this is the reading of the best MSS., but a rare construction; others have *aggredimini* (imperative).

§ 15. *pace bellum mutavit*: "exchanges war for peace." The reverse, but less usual construction, is also found, in which the thing given in exchange is put in the abl. and the thing taken in the acc. In both constructions the ablative is one of price. The perfect (*mutavit*) is gnomic, i.e. expresses a usual or proverbial truth.

§ 21. *quod si*: "but if"; see *quod si*, ch. 2, § 3, n.

*amittatis*: the use of the subjunctive without *ne* is very common after *caveo*.

*relinquatis*: subjunctive by attraction to the subjunctive *trucidemini*, on which the clause depends.

Ch. 59. § 1. *canere*: intransitive—"he ordered the trumpet to sound."

§ 2. *ab dextra vupe aspera*: if this, the MSS. reading, be retained,

*aspera* (sc. *loca*) must be taken as neuter plural accusative dependent on *iter*, and meaning "rough ground," the translation being "ground made rough by a crag on the right."

§ 3. *evocatos*: men who had completed their term of military service, but had re-enlisted as volunteers; translate "veterans."

† *colonibus*: "suttlers." There is a v.l. *colonia*, which would refer to the Sullan colonists; see *Sullanis coloniis*, ch. 28, § 4, n.

*aquilam*: the silver eagle was made by Marius the standard of the legion. Note that each cohort had a separate standard of its own (cp. *reliquarum signa*, § 2).

*bello Cimbrico*: see Index, s.v. *MARIUS*.

§ 4. *pedibus aeger*: i.e. suffering from gout.

*legato*: the general's lieutenant.

§ 5. *tumultus*: a word technically applied to a sudden war or insurrection, usually within the limits of Italy itself, and especially used of Gallic incursions.

§ 6. *amplius annos triginta*: "for more than thirty years." *Amplius* is commonly so used with numerals without the insertion of *quam*; sometimes, however (as in ch. 56, § 2), the numeral is put in the ablative.

*tribunus*: a *tribunus militaris* or *militum* (to be distinguished from *tribunus plebis*), one of six military officers who took the command of a legion in turn for two months at a time.

*praefectus*: one of three Roman officers placed in command of each of the two squadrons or wings of cavalry. The cavalry was at this time recruited altogether from the auxiliary forces of the allies.

Ch. 60. § 1. *cohortis* . . . *iubet*: this, like the preceding, is a temporal clause introduced by *ubi*.

§ 2. *ferentariis*: light-armed troops using missile weapons.

§ 5. *cohortem praetoriam*: the general's body-guard, made up of picked men, both infantry and cavalry. *Praetoria* = "pertaining to the *praetor*," which was the original name of the consul (*prae-itor* = "the goer-before," i.e. leader).

Ch. 61. § 1. *cerneres*: "you might have seen (had you been there to see)"—potential subjunctive.

§ 2. *vivōs*: nom. sing. masc.; so too in § 4.

§ 8. *inimicos*: "private enemies," as opposed to *hostes*, the public enemies of the state.

## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

### A.

**Antonius, Gaius:** a son of Marcus Antonius the orator, and uncle of Marcus Antonius the triumvir. After being praetor with Cicero in 65, he joined Catiline's conspiracy, and he and Catiline became candidates for the consulship of 63. Antonius was elected, but the other consul was Cicero, who then, by promising Antonius the rich province of Macedonia, induced him to desert the conspiracy. When war was declared against Catiline, he had charge of one of the armies; but, feigning sickness, entrusted the command on the day of battle to his lieutenant Petreius. He afterwards went to his province of Macedonia, and on his return in 59 he was charged with extortion in his province and complicity in Catiline's designs. He was defended by Cicero, but, being found guilty, retired into exile, whence he was subsequently recalled.

### C.

**Caesar, Gaius Julius:** Caesar, born in 102 B.C., was from his earliest days an opponent of the senatorial party. His name was placed on the lists of the proscribed, and he was obliged to leave Italy; but, returning after Sulla's death, he won the position of popular leader by dint of the most lavish expenditure, private and public. In 63 he was made Pontifex Maximus. He has been suspected of complicity in Catiline's plot; this is not certain. Any way, in the debate in the Senate concerning the punishment of the conspirators, he advocated lenient measures. In 62 he was praetor, in 60 he formed with Pompeius and Crassus the coalition known as the First Triumvirate, and in 59 he was consul. For the next ten years Caesar was engaged in his province of Gaul, which he completely subdued. The account of his campaigns there, with his two invasions of Britain, he gives in the *De Bello Gallico*. In 49 the jealousy of Pompeius led to the Civil War. Having defeated Pompeius at the battle of Pharsalia (48), and crushed all remaining opposition by the victories of Thapsus (46) and Munda (45), he was made Dictator for life. On the Ides of March, 44 B.C., he was assassinated by some of his personal friends, notably Brutus and Cassius.

**Carthago:** this, the most celebrated of Phoenician colonies, was

situated in a bay in the extreme north of Africa nearly opposite to Sicily, and north-east of the modern Tunis. According to tradition, it was founded by settlers from Tyre about a hundred years before Rome. Rome and Carthage first came into collision in Sicily, and this brought about the first of the three Punic Wars (see ch. 51, § 6, *n.*). In the last of these Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans (146 B.C.).

**Cato, M. Porcius** : the great-grandson of Cato the Censor, from whom he was distinguished as Cato Uticensis, from Utica, in Africa, the place of his death. Cato was born in 95 B.C., from his youth was an ardent disciple of the Stoic school of philosophy, and was noted for his integrity and severe morality. He was one of the most obstinate leaders of the Optimates, and it was his speech in the debate on the Catilinarian conspirators that secured their sentence. He sided with Pompeius against Caesar in the Civil War, was in the army defeated at Thapsus (46 B.C.), and, finding the Pompeian cause hopeless, committed suicide at Utica.

**Catulus, Quintus Lutatius** : son of the man of the same name who was Marius' colleague in the victory at Vercellae over the Cimbri. He was an eminent aristocrat and supporter of the senatorial party. Yet Catiline, after leaving Rome to join Manlius, commended his wife Orestilla to his care in a letter which Catulus read before the Senate. He died in 60 B.C.

**Cicero, M. Tullius** : born in 106 B.C. near Arpinum. After studying at Athens and Rhodes, Cicero, on his return in 77 B.C., soon became the foremost orator at Rome. In 75 he was quaestor in Sicily, and in 70 took up the cause of the oppressed Sicilians by impeaching Verres, the notorious propraetor of that province, whose condemnation he obtained. While praetor in 66 he supported the *Lex Manilia* giving Pompeius the command of the war against Mithridates. In 64, although he was a *novus homo* (i.e. none of his ancestors had held any of the greater magistracies), he was elected to the consulship, in which office, by his vigilance and energy, he discovered and suppressed Catiline's conspiracy, as related by Sallust. In 58 P. Clodius, the unprincipled tribune of that year, having a private grudge against Cicero, drew attention to the illegality of the execution of the Catilinarians; Cicero's popularity deserted him, and Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus did not care to defend him; the result was that he was compelled to go into banishment. In 57 Cicero's friends procured his recall. In 51 he acted as governor of the province of Cilicia. In 49, upon the rupture between Caesar and Pompeius, Cicero joined the side of the latter, but after the battle of Pharsalia (48) he was reconciled to Caesar. After the death of Caesar in 44, an open rupture ensued with Antonius, whom Cicero vehemently assailed in the famous Philippic Orations. For a few months at the beginning of 43 Cicero was the leading man at Rome; but upon the formation of the Second Triumvirate by Antonius, Octavianus, and Lepidus, Cicero's name was, at Antonius' suggestion, put upon the proscription list, and he was killed. Cicero's chief fame was as an orator, but as a writer on

philosophical subjects and of a vast number of letters he holds the first place among Roman prose authors.

**Cinna, Lucius Cornelius:** consul 87-84 B.C. He was elected for the year 87 B.C. by permission of Sulla, who was about to depart for the East to wage war against Mithridates. As soon as Sulla was gone, Cinna took up the cause of the popular party against the Senate. He was forcibly opposed by his fellow-consul, and was obliged to flee from the city. He was then joined by Marius, who was at the time in exile, and, returning with him, took possession of Rome. A large number of the senatorial party were massacred, and Marius made himself consul, with Cinna, for 86. Marius died in a few days, but Cinna was consul again in 85 and 84. In 84 he was slain by his own troops, as he was preparing to cross from Italy to Greece in order to oppose Sulla, who was returning from the East.

**Crassus, M. Licinius:** a partisan of Sulla, who through the Sullan proscriptions laid the basis of that enormous wealth which earned him the title of Dives and gave him his great influence. In 71 B.C. he brought to an end the insurrection of gladiators under Spartacus, and in 70 he was consul. In 60 he formed one of the First Triumvirate (*s.v.* CAESAR). In 55 he was again consul, and next year left Rome to take over the war against the Parthians, by whom he was defeated with great loss at Carrhae (53 B.C.), and was subsequently slain at an interview with the Parthian general. It was believed by many that he was implicated in Catiline's conspiracy; but, upon Terquinius informing against him, the Senate refused to believe his evidence.

**Cyrus:** generally known as the Elder, the half-mythical founder of the Persian Empire. He led a successful rebellion against the Medes in 559 B.C.; defeated Croesus, king of Lydia, 546 B.C., and deprived him of his throne. He then conquered the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and in 538 subdued Babylonia, the capital of the Babylonian Empire. In 529 he met his death in battle against a tribe of Scythians whom he had attacked.

## L

**Lentulus Sura, P. Cornelius:** Catiline's chief coadjutor in the conspiracy. Lentulus had been both praetor and consul, but had been expelled from the Senate on account of his scandalous life. He joined the conspiracy partly because he believed that he was the third Cornelius that was destined to rule Rome. He was praetor again in 63 B.C. When left in charge of the machinations in the city after Catiline had quitted Rome for *Faesulae*, he admitted into the plot ambassadors of the Allobroges, and by them the whole affair was disclosed. Being arrested with Cethegus and others, he was obliged to abdicate his office, and was then executed in the Tullianum.

## M.

**Marius, Gaius:** the celebrated conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutones. Marius was born near Arpinum in 167 B.C., and rose by his

military prowess, evidenced especially at the siege of Numantia in 134, to be praetor in 115, Metellus' lieutenant in the war against Jugurtha in 109, and Metellus' successor in the consulship in 107, with the province of Numidia and the conduct of the Jugurthine War, which he brought to an end by the capture of Jugurtha in 105. In 104 he was again made consul, to meet the hordes of barbarians that were threatening Italy; and he was annually re-elected for the next four years. The Teutones were annihilated by him at Aquae Sextiae (Aix) in 102, and, conjointly with Catulus, he destroyed the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101. After appearing as a champion of democratic reforms and being consul again in 100, he practically retired from politics, for which he did not evince the same talent as for war, for about a dozen years. He took some share in the Social War (90 B.C.). In 88 Sulla obtained the command of the war against Mithridates, and Marius, intriguing to deprive him of it, was forced by Sulla to fly. After many romantic adventures he reached Carthage. Soon after Marius (87 B.C.) returned to Rome at the invitation of Cinna (*q.v.*). He died in the beginning of his seventh consulship (86).

**Massilia (Marseille):** an ancient Greek colony founded on the coast of the Mediterranean by Phocaeans from Asia Minor in 600 B.C. It was a famous commercial centre, and always a faithful ally of Rome. It was a common resort of Romans who avoided the sentences of the law by going into exile.

**Mithridates (the Great):** king of Pontus from 120 to 63 B.C. After greatly extending the limits of his rule, he entered upon a contest with the Roman power, which lasted for a quarter of a century and divided itself into three parts, known as the three Mithridatic wars. The first war (88-84) was brought about by the Romans restoring to his dominions, from which Mithridates had ejected him, Nicomedes of Bithynia, and then instigating him to invade the territories of Mithridates. The latter captured the Roman province of Asia, and made a huge massacre of Romans and Italians; but his generals were twice defeated by Sulla and once by the Marian Fimbria, so that he was obliged to conclude a peace in 84. The second war (83-82), in which Mithridates defeated Murena, Sulla's lieutenant, was very unimportant. The third war (74-63) was occasioned by Mithridates seizing Bithynia, which had been bequeathed by Nicomedes to the Roman people. Lucullus drove Mithridates out of Pontus, and gained great victories over him; but after some reverses his troops mutinied, and he was superseded in 66 by Pompeius, who defeated and expelled the king. Mithridates now found himself deserted by his army, and, preferring death to captivity, committed suicide in 63.

## P.

**Petreius, Marcus:** a staunch supporter of the senatorial party, commander instead of C. Antonius against Catiline. He afterwards served in Spain as one of Pompeius' lieutenants, and again in Africa he fought for the Pompeians against Caesar at the battle of Thapsus (46), after which he ended his life.



**Pompeius, Gnaeus:** surnamed Magnus, the celebrated Roman general. He was born in 106 B.C., and distinguished himself against the Italians in the Social War (89). In the First Civil War he was one of Sulla's most successful generals, and in 81 obtained a triumph for defeating the Numidians, who were assisting the Marians in Africa. He triumphed over the Spaniards in 71, and was consul in 70. In 67 the *Lex Gabinia* invested him with extraordinary powers in the Mediterranean in order to extirpate the pirates, and in 66 the *Lex Manilia* gave him the command in the Third Mithridatic War. In 60 he formed with Caesar and Crassus the coalition known as the First Triumvirate. He was, on his return from the East in 62, the most powerful man in Rome; but he soon became jealous of Caesar, and took up the cause of the Senate against the popular party. The rupture with Caesar came in 49, and with it the outbreak of the Second Civil War. Pompeius was obliged to retire into Greece, where at Pharsalia, in Thessaly, he suffered a severe defeat in 48. He then fled to Egypt, where he was killed.

## S.

**Samnites:** the inhabitants of Samnium, a mountainous country in the centre of Italy, noted for their bravery and prowess in war. They were among Rome's most formidable antagonists in early times, and were not reduced till after three Samnite Wars, lasting from 343 to 290.

**Sulla, L. Cornelius:** an accomplished patrician of dissolute character, born in 138. He served as quaestor under Marius in Africa (107-105), capturing Jugurtha (105), and in the war against the northern tribes (Cimbri and Teutones). At the command of the Senate he restored Ariobarzanes to the kingdom of Cappadocia (92); commanded in the Social War (90-88) with much success; received the command in the Mithridatic War, and forced Marius to fly from Rome (88); set out for the East (87), stormed Athens, defeated the troops of Mithridates at Chaeconia (86) and Orchomenus (85), crushed the Marian Fimbria (84), and returned to Italy (83); by the victory of the Colline Gate became master of Rome (82); as dictator, promulgated the *Leges Corneliae* (81-79), by which the Senate was made the supreme power in the state and various judicial improvements were introduced; retired from his dictatorship, and died in 78.

## T.

**Tusci, otherwise called Etrusci:** the inhabitants of Etruria, the modern Tuscany, bounded on the north and east by the Apennines and Tiber, on the south by the Tiber, and on the west by the Mare Tyrrhenum. They were at one time the most powerful nation in Italy, and particularly famous as a maritime power; they also attained great proficiency in architecture and fine arts. During the fourth century B.C. they gradually fell before Rome, and by 283 B.C. they were completely subdued.

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